This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

The
Gordon Lester Ford
Collection
Presented by his Sons
Worthington Chauncey Ford
and
Paul Leicester Ford
to the
New York Public Library.

AN
(Evarts, J.)
Tracy

George Pierson

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY.

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Jerh. Evarts.

MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE

OF

JEREMIAH EVARTS, ESQ.

LATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF
COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

BY E. C. TRACY.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY CROCKER AND BREWSTER,
47, Washington-street.
1845.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
170337
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
1900

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1845,
BY CROCKER AND BREWSTER,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Massachusetts.

PREFACE.

Herder, speaking of a National Biography, remarks that the names of those only should have a place in it, who have actually contributed something to the well-being of mankind; and that, in regard to such, it should be the biographer's chief aim to show how they thus contributed; how they became what they were; what obstacles they had to encounter; how far they went, and what they left to be done by others; and finally how they themselves regarded what they had done—the work of their lives. A true narrative embracing these points, he adds, and derived, as far as practicable, from the lips or the writings of the subject of it, or of those who most intimately knew him, would be like a voice from the grave—like a Last Will and Testament of the deceased, in regard to what was most peculiarly his own and his noblest legacy.

The first, at least, of these demands, is fully met in the following pages. Mr. Evarts is to be numbered, beyond all question, among those who have contributed to the well-being of their race. For the rest, the writer can only say that he has studiously endeavored to make such use of the materials within his reach, as not altogether to fail in the particulars mentioned by Herder. It will be found accordingly, that the life of Mr. Evarts, and especially the great employments of his life and his views relating to them, are laid before the reader chiefly in his own language. The selections from his writings, published and unpublished, have been carefully made with constant reference to this object. His published writings have been used the more freely, not only as the best biographical materials, but because they are not of such a nature as to demand separate republication, and it is only in this volume that any adequate record of his views on the important subjects that most occupied him, will be generally accessible.

The papers left by Mr. Evarts are voluminous, as he was fond of writing, and much in the habit of preserving every written thing. But in one respect, they might by some be deemed deficient; and this volume may in consequence disappoint expectations. The manuscripts contain little that relates directly to his own experience and progress in the Christian life. From a very early period, passages of this kind become brief and incidental; and even papers relating to his Christian experience while in college, to which the writer has been particularly referred, are not now to be found. How far the following facts may account for this, it is impossible to determine. When leaving home on one of his earliest journeys to the south, he directed that, in case of his decease, certain packages of papers should be destroyed. After his return he was told by the person employed in his office, to whom the charge was given, that it would not have been complied with. When next called away on a distant journey, he looked over his papers, and committed many to the flames himself. It is not supposed, however, that after becoming engaged in the great business of his life he ever wrote much on the subject referred to; and to give that topic any more prominence than it here holds, would not be in keeping with his character and habits. His inner life as a Christian was habitually and naturally expressed in his daily business; and transacting that heartily as unto the Lord, and with constant prayer, it became to him a chief means of spiritual discipline. Hence even his official writings are often in the highest sense autobiographical, and yet without the least obtrusion of the private individual into the place of the functionary.

In the preparation of this volume the writer has been under great obligations to gentlemen connected with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and to other friends and correspondents of Mr. Evarts who have furnished valuable suggestions and materials, and has been very much aided by the Memoir in the Missionary Herald, written by one of his associates soon after his death. To this last mentioned source, it will be seen, he has been indebted almost exclusively, as was proper, for the concluding pages of the Memoir, instead of trusting to his own less intimate personal knowledge.

Such as it is, and with unfeigned diffidence respecting his own agency in it, the writer submits the volume to the friends of missions and to the public, in the hope that so much of the mind and spirit of Mr. Evarts will be found in its pages as to render them of sterling value, and of use to the cause in which he delighted above all things to labor while he lived, and to take leave of which was one of the severest trials connected with approaching death.

E. C. T.

Windsor, Vt., May, 1845.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and Childhood of Mr. Evarts, 9, 10. Studies at East Guilford, 10. Enters Yale College, 11. Character in College, 12. Religious Habits, 17. Conversion, 19—25. Early Habits as a Christian, 25, 26. Characteristic Traits, 27

CHAPTER II.

Prospects and Plans after leaving College, 29. At Peacham, Mr. Worcester's Remarks on his Character and Habits, 30. Religious Diary, 32—36. Faithfulness as an Instructor, 37. Choice of a Profession, 37—43. Marriage, 44. Student at Law, 44. At the Bar, 45—47. Political Views, 47, 48. Religious Activity, Letter from Professor Stuart, 48—50. Extracts from Correspondence, 51—54

CHAPTER III.

Invited to take charge of the Panoplist as Editor, 55. Providential training for his future position, 56—59. Origin of the Panoplist, State of the Churches, Unitarianism, 59—62. Character, leading objects, and labors, as an editor, 62—94. Elevation of Christian Character, 63. Religious Education, 65. Unitarian Controversy, 69. Intemperance, 75. War, 76. Slavery, 79. Education Societies, 90, 93. Prison Discipline Society, 90. Character as a Reformer, 91. Foreign Missions, 92

CHAPTER IV.

Origin of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 96. Mr. Evarts elected Treasurer, 98. Correspondence and other Writings in the service of the Board, 99. Letter to Dr. Worcester on the Ordination of Missionaries at Newburyport, 107. Visit to Canada, and Letter on Efforts to pro-

mote the better observance of the Lord's Day, 109. Failure of Health and Voyage to Savannah, 110. Agricultural Riches of Georgia, 110. Congregations of blacks at Savannah, Portrait of the Countess of Huntington, 112. Slavery, 113. Auction Sale of Slaves, 114. Prospects at Charleston in regard to funds for Missions, 116. Charleston to Columbia, 117. Meeting of Synod at Augusta, 118. Objects and Prospects of his journey, Arrival at Brainerd, Visit to Rev. J. Gambold, 119. Catharine Brown, 121. Leaves Brainerd with Mr. Cornelius and others, 123. Journal in Tennessee, 125. Route home, 126. State of Indian affairs and assurances from Government, 127. Dr. Worcester's Visit to Washington, 129. Mr. Calhoun's Treaty with the Cherokees, 130. President Monroe's visit to Brainerd, 131. Enlargement of Indian Missions, Discouragements respecting Funds, 132. Failure of Dr. Worcester's health, and his death at Brainerd, 133, 145. Letter to Rev. W. Goodell, on his Agency, 134. To Messrs. Parsons and Fisk, missionaries in Western Asia, 138. To Rev. C. Kingsbury, embarrassments, 139. To Rev. Ard Hoyt, employments and health, 140. To Messrs. Parsons and Fisk, motives to fidelity, 141. To Dr. Worcester, want of funds, 141. To Dr. Chapin, qualifications of missionaries, 142. To the Sandwich Islands, 148. Notices of the Death and Character of Dr. Worcester, 149. Extract from the Annual Report, 153

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Evarts both Secretary and Treasurer, 159. Circulation of the Missionary Herald, 160. Failure of Health and second Voyage to Savannah, 161. Deathbed of a young Physician, 162. Letter to Hon. W. Reed, sense of official duty, 165. To Rev. R. Anderson, names of stations, 165. Notes on the condition of the Blacks, 166. Salubrity of Athens, Sufferings of the first Settlers from the Indians, 168. Dr. Waddel's views of Slavery, 170. Sabbath in Jackson County, 170. Employments at Brainerd, 171. Remarks on his visit, 174. Proposal in regard to a Treasurer, 179. Journal in Tennessee and Virginia, 180. Annual Meeting of 1822, Mr. Evarts Corresponding Secretary, 181. Letter to Rev C. Kingsbury, on the death of Mrs. K., 181. Journal of employments, Health, 183. To Ceylon, first grant from the American Bible Society, Duties of Missionaries, Letters home, 184. To Adam Hodgson, Esq., on his Letters, 186. Visit to Vermont, and third visit to the Indian Missions, with David Brown, United Foreign Missionary Society, 187. Relations of the United States Government to the Cherokees, interview with Rev. J. J. Robertson, 188. Letter to an Assistant, on the duties of his office, 189. Troubles in regard to the Indians, 190. Cautions respecting accounts of Revivals of Religion, 191. The Monthly Concert, note on Western Virginia, 192. Notes on Tennessee, 193. Visit to Brainerd, 197. Employments at home, 200. Letter to Rev. C. Washburn, missionary economy, 201. To Mr. Hall, who had been alarmed by exposure to violence, 203. To Cherokee Converts, 204. To. Mrs. Mosely, on the death of her husband, 205

CHAPTER VI.

Failure of Health and fourth visit to the South, Article on the British and Foreign Bible Society, 207. Death of his youngest Daughter, 212, 218, 221. Letter to an agent, to obtain funds the hardest part of the missionary work, 212. To Ceylon, on a revival of religion there, 214. To T. L. McKenney, Esq., on the

removal of the Indians, 215. Journal in South Carolina and Georgia, 218. American Tract Society, New York and Boston, 219. Aid given by the Tract Society to Foreign Missions, Death of Rev. P. Fisk, 221. Marriage of E. Boudinot, 222. Labors at Meetings of Auxiliaries, 223. Return of Consumptive symptoms and fifth visit to Indian Missions, 224. Remarks on Complaints against the Board, election of members, Colored men as missionaries to Africa, 225. Ability of the Country and want of Religious Charity, 226. Birthday Reflections, 227. Methodist Meeting, 228. Instance of Liberality, 229. Charleston to Augusta, 229. Instruction of Slaves, 231. Travelling on the Sabbath, 232. Special Concert of Prayer, 233. The Creek Treaty, 234. Sabbath on the way, 234. Employments in the Indian Country, 236. The Mississippi River, 237. Frances Wright, 238. The Ohio, 240. Travelling on the Sabbath, 242. Union of Missionary Societies effected, 244. Letter to Rev. C. Kingsbury, encouragement to missionary labors, 244. To Rev. D. S. Butrick, advice, 245. To John Nitchie, Esq., union of Societies, 246. To Messrs. Bird and Goodell, death of Mr. Fisk, 247. To Rev. William Potter, 247. To Mr. Moses Jewell, personal acquaintance with missionaries, assistants, 248. To a Gentleman on the General Plan of Indian Missions, 249. To an Agent of the Board, 252. To a friend in Virginia, slavery, 252. To Sandwich Islands Chiefs, 253. Death of Rev. G. Hall, 256. Annual Meeting at New Haven, Extracts from Report, 256. Labors in New York, 261. Arrangements with the American Tract Society, 262. Expostulatory Letter to Missionaries, 264

CHAPTER VII.

Visit to Washington in 1827, and labors in connexion with Rev. C. S. Stewart, 267, 269, 272. Indian affairs, 268, 269. Interview with the President, 269. Creek Treaty, 270. Visit to Virginia, 272. Letter to Rev. C. Kingsbury, removal of the Indians, 274. To Rev. R. Anderson, interview with Rev. Dr. Green, Presbyterian missions, 275. Address to the Students at Princeton, 276. Outrages at the Sandwich Islands, Lieut. Percival, 278. Increased interest in Missions, 279. Letter to Josiah Bissell, Contributions of the rich, 279. Annual Meeting, Extract from Report, 281. Origin of the Extra Effort, 285. Letters to E. Lord, Esq., on Extra Effort, 286, 7, 8. Paper in the Missionary Herald, on same subject, 290. Article on Sandwich Islands, in North American Review, 291. Religious Movements in Boston, Spirit of the Pilgrims, 292. Paper on qualifications of Missionaries, 293. Letter to Rev. C. Kingsbury, apprehensions respecting the Indians, 299. To Rev. R. Anderson, Extra Effort, 301, 2. Visit to Washington, March 1828, 303. Mr. Randolph's Speech, 304. George Guess and the Cherokee Alphabet, 305. Prospects of the Indians, 306. Letter to Rev. C. Washburn, missionary economy, 307. Case of Lieut. Percival, 309. Need of Agents for the Board among the Churches, 313. Letter to S. G., combinations among the Students, 314. Annual Meeting, Extract from Report, 315. Sabbath Mails, Sabbath Union, Mr. Bissell, 317

CHAPTER VIII.

Visit to Washington in 1829, with reference to the Indians and the Sabbath Mails—Col. Johnson's Sabbath Mail Report, 320. London Post-office, 322. Interview with Gen. Jackson, 324. Measures to secure the discontinuance of

Sabbath Mails, number and character of petitions, 325. Letter to D. Greene, Sabbath Mails, Indian affairs, 327. Views of the advocates of the removal of the Indians, 329. Meeting of the Sabbath Union, Mr. Maxwell's Speech on Temperance, 331. Meeting of the General Assembly, 332. Letter to L S. Williams, revival of religion among the Choctaws, 333. To J. H., letter of consolation, 334. Pressure of employments and failure of health, 335. Essays of "William Penn," 336. Influence of the Essays, 347. Other labors on behalf of the Indians, 349. Visit, in April 1830, to Washington, 353. Aspect of the Indian question, 354. Advice to friends in the Cherokee nation, 356. Debate in the Senate on the Indian Bill, 357. Interview with Col. M'K., 360. A new Treaty with the Choctaws, 361, 364. New Haven Theology, 362. Letter to Rev. C. Kingsbury, Indian affairs, 362. Sabbath Mails, 363. Influence of "William Penn." Mr. Frelinghuysen, New York Indian Board, Gen. Cass, 365. Influence of Memorials, Vote of the Senate on the Indian Bill, 366. Visit to Virginia, 367. Chief Justice Marshall, 368. Speeches of Messrs. Frelinghuysen and Livingston on Sabbath Mails, 369, 371. Debate on the Indian Bill in the House of Representatives, 370—379. Consultations with Mr. Wirt and the Cherokees, 379, 381. The Maysville Road veto, 380, 381. Labors for the Indians after his return home, 383

CHAPTER IX.

Twentieth Annual Report of the Board, Extracts, 385—388. Further efforts on behalf of the Indians, Letter to Rev. F. Wayland, 398. To E. Lord, Esq., Annual Meeting, Suggestions in regard to the Indians, 400. To Rev. George Potts, Christian duty of efforts in favor of the Indians, 401. To E. Lord, Esq., Indian affairs, 402. Visit to New Bedford, 403. Last Instructions to Missionaries, extracts, 405. Failure of Health, Letter to Hon. I. C. Bates, 409. Voyage to Havana, 410. Spiritual state of mind, 410. Conversion of his eldest son, 413. Last days and triumphant death, 414—417. Remarks on his character, 418

APPENDIX.

Labors of Mr. Evarts in relation to the Indiah Question, 431. Draft of a Protest against the Principles and Policy of the Indian Bill of May, 1830, 433. Address to the People of the United States, by the General Council of the Cherokee Nation, July 1830, 442

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND EDUCATION, 1781—1802.

Jeremiah Evarts, eldest son of James and Sarah Evarts, was born in Sunderland, Vermont, on the third day of February, 1781. His father, a native of Guilford, Connecticut, where the Evarts family had resided from about the year 1650, was a respectable farmer, and a man of uncommon public spirit; his mother was the eldest daughter of Timothy Todd, Esq., also of Guilford. Her family, originally from Yorkshire, England, were distinguished for their love of books; and her uncle, Rev. Jonathan Todd, for many years Pastor of the Congregational church in East Guilford, is spoken of as one of the first scholars of his time. She was an intelligent, pious, and benevolent woman; and although removed from opportunities to indulge to much extent the literary tastes characteristic of her family, yet cherished enough of their spirit to sympathize with and encourage those tastes in her son. To her instructions and influence also, and to those of his excellent grandmother — who was a woman of strong mind and devoted piety — must chiefly be attributed the religious impressions that attended him through childhood and youth. James Evarts was among the earliest inhabitants of Sunderland, and afterwards of Georgia, of which township he was an original proprietor, and to which he removed in 1787. The subject of this memoir, then six years of age, was already distinguished for industry, faithfulness, and love of books. Reading was his favorite amusement when less than three years of age, and among his characteristic employments at that early period was the teaching of a little playmate, of his own age, the alphabet. On returning from school one day in his fifth year, he begged for a new book. What! is your book worn out? asked his father. "Oh no, sir; but I have read all the sense out of it," was the quick reply. No words could better express his manner of reading through life. His time was chiefly devoted to the usual employments of a pioneer farmer's son, where hardy and enterprizing men were opening their fields in the midst of primeval forests, near the shores of Lake Champlain, till he left the paternal roof to enter upon classical studies in Connecticut. Although his frame was too slender and his constitution too delicate for hard and continuous labor, it was less his unfitness for agricultural employments than the intellectual promise observed by his family and friends that induced his father to give him the best advantages in his power for obtaining a thorough education and entering one of the learned professions. In his circumstances, in a new settlement and with few books, the facilities for acquiring knowledge, except those afforded immediately by parental watchfulness and care, were of course very limited. But of these, such as they were, he made the most diligent use. When not otherwise employed, he always had a book in his hand. "I believe," remarked a sister, "that every page of the SPECTATOR was as familiar to him as his spelling-book, when quite a child." In January, 1798, at the age of seventeen, he left home for East Guilford, Connecticut, and was there placed under the tuition of Rev. John Elliot, D. D., the worthy successor of Rev. Jonathan Todd, mentioned above, who, as was common for clergymen in those times, usually had a few pupils under his care. He had before only acquired a knowledge of the English studies then taught in common schools, and devoted two or three months at Burlington to the Latin. He now resumed the study under the strongest impulses of gratified desire, and of youthful ardor and hope. While under the tuition of Dr. Elliot, between the last of January and the first of September, 1798, he read and reviewed those parts parts of Virgil, Cicero's Orations, and the Greek Testament, which were then required of candidates for admission to Yale College ; and a fellow-student remarks that he was probably better fitted for admission than half of his class.

The discipline of the woods was salutary to young Evarts. He had books and sympathy enough to cherish without fully gratifying his intellectual tastes ; while the pursuits and observations of his daily life were constant lessons of industry, energy, self-reliance and hope. A brief journal, in which he made almost daily entries from the time of his going to school at Burlington till after he entered on his professional studies, shows him to have been uncommonly thoughtful and observing, and to have possessed in all respects a remarkable manliness and maturity of character. If he had day-dreams, they were of books and learned men, and of life in the learned professions ; while the realities of every hour taught him how difficulties were overcome and victories achieved, — to labor, as well as live, for the realization of distant hopes. Improvement was an object kept always distinctly in view ; and he was laboring constantly to furnish his mind with knowledge, to form a character, and to qualify himself for usefulness. Nor was he laying the foundation for intellectual eminence only : this early period of his life was marked by conscientiousness, integrity, firmness of purpose, freedom from passion and youthful levity, and a wakeful interest in whatever affected the well-being of the community around him.

Thus, in his eighteenth year, and not yet a twelve-month from his axe and plough, the young student was admitted a member of the freshman class in Yale College in September, 1798. " I well remember," says a classmate, " the first assembling of our division of the class for recitation. We were all strangers to each other, and felt the usual commixture of emotions which such an occasion is wont to produce ; among which curiosity, and a desire to form 'ominous conjectures' in regard to each one's character and merits, are not the least active. There sat Evarts, in a plain rustic garb, with which fashion evidently had never intermeddled ; his stature of the middling height ; his form remarkably slender ; his manners stiff ; and his whole exterior having nothing to prepossess a stranger in his behalf, except a countenance which bespoke as much *honesty* as ever falls to the lot of man. When his turn came to recite he made a strong impression on my mind, and

I believe on the minds of most present, that he would take a high stand as a scholar. He at once gained the respect of his companions; and those who were ambitious of intellectual superiority seemed to feel that they would find in him a competitor." His time at college was industriously and faithfully employed. He wasted no hours in aimless reading, and passed over no subject carelessly. On whatever subject he took up, his investigations and reflections were continued till his views were fully settled and ready for use. He did not read a book without knowing distinctly what there was in it that he approved and what that he condemned, and being able to assign definite reasons. His habits were methodical, and his memory, in regard both to principles and facts, remarkably retentive. The extent to which he pushed his studies in literature or science does not appear to have been great; but his attainments were of the most substantial and permanent character. The class to which he belonged was one of the largest and best that had ever graduated at Yale, and was publicly complimented as such by President Dwight. Evarts was known as the severest student in college; and in respect to habits of accurate and successful investigation, thorough mastery of the whole course of collegiate study, and ability to bring all the faculties of his mind into judicious use, he probably had no superior in his class.

But his collegiate life cannot be passed over thus briefly; although the interest of the pages here devoted to it must result not from any succession of brilliant intellectual triumphs, rarely achieved and far beyond the common hope; but chiefly from habits and characteristics that every student may aim at without presumption and cultivate with success. "He was prominent," says a classmate, "for his sagacity, his manly and industrious habits, his generous regard of his companions, his wisdom and scholarship, in the whole of his collegiate course; and including the whole series of studies, he had not his superior in the class. He was punctual, to a proverb, in all the duties assigned him; and although conscious of what he could achieve, he never shunned the society of his inferiors in point of talents and acquirements, nor allowed himself to speak of them with a supercilious air, or with severity, or even with disrespect and any unkindness. I never knew him *severe* either in college, or since, except upon error, vice and crime. By this generous course, he endeared himself to all who had intercourse with him, secured the warm confidence of his friends, and contributed to their usefulness and happiness. He early developed qualities which fitted him to sway the human mind, and to shape and direct public sentiment. On all questions he was heard with interest; and on questions of difficulty, when passions became violent, and the excitement approaching to a tempest, his voice, his counsels, his arguments, which even then bore the dignity of age and experience, were always influential, and often such as to control the meeting. Not unfrequently, his efforts, in an emergency of unusual interest, secured a triumph on the side he advocated; and I do not recollect an instance, in which he allowed himself to enlist warmly and perseveringly on the wrong side. We were sure to hear the voice of Evarts on the side of law, order, respect for constituted authorities, for superiors in age and office, and for the principles of virtue. In these respects, he was an eminent example for all his college acquaintance, and exhibited the same noble, generous, and fixed traits of character, which were so happily developed in his subsequent life. When I have seen him in Boston, in New York, in Philadelphia, and elsewhere, in private consultation or in public discussion, I have been struck with the fact, and have remarked it to others, how very like in his manner, in his matter, and in his chief aim, is our friend Evarts to what he was in college: calm, cool, dignified, of unbending integrity, with the spirit of an acute jurist, of a statesman, an apostle and a hero; fearlessly sustaining the truth, to the honor of his country and the good of men. President Dwight acknowledged him among his favorites, as a scholar, as a Christian, and as a friend. In the senior year, when the question before the class for forensic discussion was, 'Is dancing a useful employment?' Evarts came in competition with the President in a manner which amused and instructed us all. The Doctor allowed his pupils in freedom of remark, to any extent within the bounds of decorum and sound argument. He had somewhat freely stated the reasons in justification of dancing, and seemed to justify balls, when *properly* conducted and confined to a *select party*. Evarts had taken the other side of the question, and became alarmed at the appearance of a dangerous latitudinarianism on this subject, from so high authority, and was anxious to secure a righteous decision. In the course of the debate, and in reply to some views of the President, in a manner familiar, but respectful and dignified, he turned upon him with an appeal derived from that petition in the Lord's prayer, " lead us not into temptation." ' Sir, can you say to the youth in this community, anything which shall encourage them in their fondness for the frivolities of the ball-room ; that shall blind them to the vices and the many dangers of this scene of delusive charms and merriment ? — can you do this, when rising from your knees in prayer, having offered the petition, *lead us not into temptation*, and with the sound of this request still vibrating on your ear, enter the ball-room ; — or direct your pupils to offer this prayer and then tell them that they can, with safety or with innocence, resort to the ball-room, and lead in the dance ? ' This appeal, with the attendant remarks, was happy and powerful ; and whilst his classmates were delighted with his decision and boldness, it was obvious that the President himself was gratified, though his arguments were frittered and given to the winds. This anecdote illustrates a leading characteristic in this man, which he uniformly exhibited when the emergency called for it." *

" His recitations," another remarks, " showed that he spared no pains to master his studies ; and his accuracy on all points proved the minuteness of his investigations and the clearness of his apprehension. It was not with him, as it is with too many who come out occasionally with superior mental efforts, giving evidence of what they might be with uniform exertion, but as often sinking into inferiority through want of constant diligence ; — *he* was always prepared on his lessons ; his accuracy never forsook him ; and I do not remember that he ever lost a lesson, or recited one imperfectly. This will hold true of him through his whole college course. As our studies varied in our onward progress, the same accuracy and diligence were still conspicuous. I do not consider it invidious to others to say that, all things considered, he early became the first scholar in his division of the class, and maintained that rank to the end of his collegiate course. Others may have excelled him somewhat in some particular department; but, taking the various branches of study into view, I am confident that all would have awarded him the first place.

---

* In one of his Note Books of this period, is a sketch of the leading considerations urged by him in the debate mentioned above. The topics enumerated exhaust the subject, and are selected and arranged with a degree of judgment and ability that would be expected only from mature intellect and long practice. The argument was afterwards written out and published in a series of numbers in a newspaper.

"Mr. Evarts was naturally inclined to be accurate and particular about everything. Whenever he examined a subject, he wished to know all about it, and to understand it just as it was. Whatever he undertook to do, he endeavored to do it well. Yet there was nothing in him which we usually denominate *plodding*. His perceptions were quick, and he grasped a subject with great readiness, but without parade; and having grasped it, he never relinquished his hold. He possessed, also, much *acuteness* of mind. It was a hard matter, indeed, to impose upon him with false appearances. I was never acquainted with a man who was naturally a greater lover of truth, relate to what it might; and few, I believe, have been better able to comprehend it. It is difficult to say in what department he particularly excelled. His mind was of such a structure that it made little difference to what branch of study his attention was directed. He seemed to consider all the parts of the course of study pursued in college as wisely prescribed by the proper authority, and well adapted to the improvement of the mind; and that he was not at liberty to form predilections in favor of one or more branches to the neglect of others, and then to rely on his distaste for the latter as an apology for his defects, and a quietus to his conscience. For the first two or three years he excelled less in composition than in any other collegiate exercise; not from the want of thoughts, and a clear and forcible expression of them, but rather from a defect in the ornaments of style, and rhetorical embellishment in general. I well remember a remark made to him by our Tutor,* after reading a composition some time in our junior year, that his style and language were correct, and such as were suited to the gravity of age; but unless he cultivated a more florid style in the season of youth when some redundancy is tolerated, he would be in danger, as he advanced in life, of becoming dry beyond what a proper regard to taste would warrant. This intimation was not thrown away. From that time he began to cultivate his style; and his compositions soon evinced that he possessed good taste, as well as solidity of thinking. The fact was, his mind had been too intent on truth to regard with much solicitude the mere garb in which it was presented to others. In his senior year, the investigation of moral truth, in direct reference to the benefitting of mankind, seemed to be his favorite pursuit. He had little relish for curious speculations. Theories he did not discard; but such as were reducible to practice were the only ones which claimed his serious attention.

---

* Rev. Henry Davis, D. D., afterwards President of Middlebury and Hamilton Colleges.

It was not until the middle of his senior year, that Mr. Evarts became a Christian. Before this event, however, his moral principles and conduct were strictly correct. No one ever possessed greater natural integrity, or was more punctilious in the discharge of what he deemed to be his duty. He was always conspicuous for his industry, and his love of order, punctuality and method, in whatever he undertook. Few scholars had ever less occasion for self-reproach on account of time misspent. In his intercourse with his companions, he was open-hearted, honest, sincere. He appeared to have an instinctive dislike for whatever was morally wrong, vain, or frivolous; and he was forward to reprove it, wherever discovered. No one in the class was allowed to administer reproof with equal freedom, or could do it with so little offence. Such was his reputation for integrity and judiciousness, that none seemed to question his motives, or refused to pay deference to his opinions. Some might have thought that his tendency was to be somewhat too censorious, but no one doubted the purity of his intentions, or the benevolence by which he was actuated. He was not prone to consider any faults as venial; and for that reason he did not admit, as justifications, many of the excuses which might be pleaded in self-vindication. At any rate he was impartial; for he judged himself by the same rule that he applied to others, and practised favoritism to none. There was nothing in his character which bordered on moroseness. Though grave, he was cheerful; he was fond of society, companionable in his habits and feelings, entertaining in his conversation, and ready both to receive and to impart innocent amusement. Though a strict disciplinarian, he was a great enemy to all stiffness and formality in the intercourse between friends. Among these he made himself at home, treated them without reserve, and wished to be so treated in return. This was the result both of his natural directness of manner in all his conduct, and of the openness of his disposition. Notwithstanding his natural gravity and seriousness, few men ever had a stronger sense of the ridiculous, or were more easily provoked to a laugh by the sudden presentation of a ludicrous object."

Such was he before he became a new man in Christ. Through the whole period of his youth, he had been attentive to the claims of Divine truth, and of unblemished morals. In the house of God he was a careful and studious hearer. From the time of his arrival at Guilford the subjects of all the sermons that he heard were noticed in his Diary, sometimes with brief outlines, and at others with a remark or two of his own. After he entered college and became a hearer of Dr. Dwight, these notes became gradually more copious, those of a single sermon sometimes occupying many pages. His respect for the Bible and the Sabbath were unusual; and at the daily religious exercises in the college chapel, his air and manner were devotional. The Scriptures read and the remarks made by the President at these services were frequently noticed in his Diary. He has been heard to say that it was a matter of inquiry with him *then*, whether he did not possess a truly religious character. But he had not yet learned the plague of his own heart, and afterwards felt the need of a state of soul far different from anything that he had yet experienced. Among his papers is a Prayer, dated February 26, 1798; a few months before he entered college. The next year he became a regular attendant at the meetings for prayer held weekly by the few pious students then in college, and read with great interest such missionary intelligence as came within his reach.* Occasional passages from his Journal show that religion was a subject of frequent and serious thought:

---

* A "Missionary Magazine" was then published at New York.

1800, Aug. 24.—Sunday. The President preached in the morning, from Titus ii. 6. At the close of the sermon he recommended to us, to shut ourselves up after divine service in the afternoon, and look into our prospect for the world to come. In this examination he advised us to leave passion and appetite behind, and to go according to the dictates of reason and conscience. This advice (God willing) I intend to follow. In the afternoon the text was 1 Peter i. 15, 16. I endeavored to comply with the President's request. It is wonderful how remiss men are in respect to their future state. I have been remarkably so. At the same time I have a very feeble constitution, and my health is very bad ; so that it is probable I shall soon go down to the grave, the house appointed for all the living. I pray God, in his infinite mercy, to prepare me for the change.

Dec. 28, P. M. A sermon from the last verse of Ecclesiastes. It was very affecting. O God, may I live mindful of the judgment ! ———, of our class, was propounded for admission to the church. Would that I were fit.

These serious hours were however comparatively only exceptions to the general tenor of his life, which was still "according to the course of this world."

1801, Aug. 19. News arrived of the death of Strong, my classmate. He was a member of the visible, and we hope of the real church of Christ. He and I were appointed disputants together seven months ago, and now he is gone ! 'One shall be taken, and another left.' This certainly ought to be a warning to me, and God grant that it may.

1802, Jan. 9. From my own experience I am induced to believe that evil spirits are continually present on this earth, and that they tempt and lead astray the minds of men. Else, whence does it so frequently happen to me, and to many others, that, when we are thinking seriously on any subject, the bent of our minds is suddenly turned aside, and something seems to force itself forward on purpose to distract attention. The thoughts introduced are also of a light and profane character,— besides the circumstance of their being such as never before occurred. How ought we to pray for assistance in the hour of formidable temptation! How ought we to thank the Lord for his kind protection of us against he wiles of the arch-deceiver, and for the assurance in his word, — 'resist the devil, and *he will flee from you.*'

March 7. My friend Field* was admitted into the holy communion of the Christian church. I pray God that I may be no longer careless about my eternal salvation.

The admission to the church of a member of his class, as mentioned in the last extract, and a conversation with the same individual the week before, were the means of greatly deepening Mr. Evarts's religious impressions. The evening of the 13th of March was spent by him in conversation with Dr. Dwight and his tutor, Mr. Davis, on the question, *What shall I do to be saved?* He very soon after found peace in believing, and consecrated himself to the service of Christ in a written covenant, as recommended in Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress,' which he was reading at the time. This was before any uncommon seriousness began to prevail in college. He very soon became a member of the College church, and engaged, humbly, but zealously and with characteristic frankness and decision, in labors to bring his fellow-students to know and obey the truth.

But this season was the beginning of an era not only in his life, but in the religious history of the College, and, to a great extent, of our country.

"When Evarts entered college," says his classmate, Dr. Field, "there were very few pious students. Two only are believed at that time to have joined the class, and one of these died the second year. There were some solitary conversions afterwards, and about seven before the revival began. There were a few in the three under classes; from fifteen to twenty among all the students; who, with those belonging to the faculty, constituted the College church. The graduates in the four classes affected by the revival, namely, those who took their degrees in 1802–5, were 221. The pious students had been in the habit of meeting weekly for prayer, to implore the influences of the Holy Spirit upon their own hearts and upon the hearts of their associates. Those seasons were very precious. Says one accustomed to attend them, whose letter is before me, 'If I ever knew what it is to pray with fervency, if I ever had any true fellowship with Christians, it was at those meetings.' The college all along enjoyed the excellent instructions of President Dwight, who was also professor of theology. The discourses contained in his system of theology were preached to the students, together with miscellaneous discourses, oftentimes more experimental and pungent, and at times not less eloquent. These were now specially owned and blessed of God.

---

* Rev. D. D. Field, D. D., now of Haddam, Conn.

"It should be mentioned here, certainly not with boasting, but with gratitude to the Father of mercies, that the class to which Mr. Evarts belonged, was saved from those unhappy occurrences, to which ardent and inexperienced youth are much exposed, so appropriately denominated *college scrapes*. Nothing of this kind took place through their whole course; nor was an individual in the class detected in anything which occasioned expulsion, suspension, or public admonition. This unusual exemption was ascribable to various causes; to the paternal government of the college, to the excellent tutors, (Mr. Day, now president of the college, and Mr. Davis,) who instructed the two divisions of the class the first three years, and in whom the greatest confidence was placed, and to the influence of Evarts and other prominent individuals, who were always on the side of order and virtue.

"It is not in my power, after the lapse of more than thirty years, to describe minutely the workings of Evarts's mind; though it is well remembered that his distress was great. This appeared in his countenance and in everything pertaining to him. But he soon found joy and peace in believing in Christ. Having been well indoctrinated, he assumed almost at once the character of a confirmed as he did of a humble believer. On the 4th of April he united with the church. At this time, (as it is stated in the account of the revival in the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine,) 'a few others, though it was not then publicly known, had become particularly attentive to divine things.' On the 3d of May three others united with the church, who are now ministers of the gospel in three different States; and on the 10th, three more, one of whom was the Rev. Joshua Huntington, the late greatly beloved pastor of the Old South Church in Boston. 'Before their admission,' (that is, the admission of these six in May,) says the account just referred to, 'a small number of others began to be uncommonly serious. About this time the same disposition appeared rapidly to extend itself, so that before the vacation, which began on the 12th of May, not less than fifty of the students exhibited a new and very solemn sense of the importance of divine things.' At no period of the revival was the work more rapid and powerful than in the first part of this month. The convictions of some were very deep, and in some instances they were prolonged. In the prospect of separating, the pious part of the students were very much concerned lest they themselves and their awakened companions should suffer from the temptations to which they would be exposed during the period of relaxation; the Lord was entreated to prevent the evil, and the evil was prevented. The pious and the awakened in one case and in another found among their relatives and their friends, among ministers and private Christians, those who took the deepest interest in their situation, who counselled them and prayed for them. Thus the revival became a subject of greater notoriety and of more general interest. As there had been no considerable revival in the college for a long period, and as there was a great want of ministers in the country, many blessed God for what had been accomplished. Public prayers were offered for the advancement of the revival in some of the churches in the State. No one is recollected to have lost his impressions during the vacation. So it is said in the account to which reference has been repeatedly made: 'On their return, after vacation, the same character still predominated, and hitherto not an individual has appeared to lose the interest which he had professed to feel in religious subjects. The only change which has been perceived is that in which good men will rejoice. The determination to leave all and follow Christ, has, it is believed, become stronger and more settled. The number also has become considerably enlarged — upwards of eighty appear now to be deeply interested in their salvation.' This account was dated on the 15th of June. It was drawn up by a member of the faculty, and was, not improbably, shown to all the members, and approved by them. It is remarkably candid and correct, so far as it goes. It should be remembered however that the revival progressed after this was written. In the month of July, twenty-two were admitted to the church, fourteen of whom have been settled in the ministry. A number were admitted in the month of August, and on the first Sabbath in September, the Sabbath preceding the commencement, when Mr. Evarts and fifty-five others took the Baccalaureat degree. Of these, twenty-five were then professors of religion. These entered into a covenant of mutual correspondence and fidelity. They also engaged, among other things, to be done for their classmates universally, 'to pray for those of them who were then inquiring the way to Zion, that they might be brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, and that those who were then in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity might be brought to the acknowledgment of the truth as it is in Jesus.' Two died within a year, whose minds were impressed in the revival, and who gave some evidence of piety, though they did not unite with the church on earth. Several others united with churches either that year, or soon after, whose religious course commenced that season. Of this class of fifty-five, twenty are now in their graves.

" The number of converts in all the classes would doubtless be estimated differently. Without attempting too great precision, it would probably be, by different individuals, between seventy-five and ninety; while a happy influence was thrown over the college at large. Though at first a very few were disposed to cavil, yet the appearance of opposition scarcely existed while the revival continued. The impression was nearly or quite universal that the work was of God. Everywhere, in the apartments of the students, in the recitation rooms, in the college yard, in walks in the streets in and about the city, and especially in the sanctuary, there were indications of the divine presence.

" 'With respect to religion,' continues the account, 'all of them are greatly desirous to be taught, but none to assume the office of teaching. No spirit of self-sufficiency, no inclination to distribute censures, no appearance of arrogance, no flights of a wild imagination, have hitherto been discovered. The lofty-minded have become humble, the light-minded sober, the thoughtless solemn, and the vicious regular and uncensurable. The doctrines of grace appear almost instinctively to be acknowledged by all, without a doubt, as the doctrines of the gospel — the doctrines according to which they hope to be saved.

" 'The influence of this spirit on their companions has been visible and not unimportant. There are very few who are not more solemn, and in whom a greater propriety of conduct is not clearly discernible.

" 'On the whole, the state of Yale College is, in the view of the *instructors*, more pleasing and desirable than at any former period within their knowledge.'

"The college exercises, I think, were not suspended at all; but the students availed themselves of the intervals between study hours and other college duties, and spent them in reading, conversation and devotion. Whenever they met, two, five, ten or more together, religion was the all-absorbing subject of thought and remark. Some of the discourses of the President at that time were particularly impressive. One is recollected on divine sovereignty, and another on the text, '*Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.*' The venerable Dr. Perkins, of West Hartford, came and spent a Sabbath at college. A sermon was preached there by Rev. Ammi R. Robbins, of Norfolk; and another by Rev. Azel Bachus, D. D., then of Bethlehem, afterwards President of Hamilton College, from the passage, '*Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.*'

"The influence of this revival upon the college at the time has been sufficiently shown. It must have been happy on succeeding classes. Religion has never been as low at that institution since as before.

"The influence of this revival has been important on society. When this is said, it is not to be disguised that a few, of whom better things were then hoped, have since given but doubtful evidence of piety. But to the honor of divine grace it should be recorded, that the mass of those who were then regarded as truly converted to God, have adorned their profession. About forty-five became ministers of the gospel, who first found a good hope through grace at that time. Some were prevented from entering the ministry through feebleness of voice or of general health. These, with others have carried the influence of piety into various occupations and departments of life."

Another classmate,* speaking of his conversion, says: "I know that for some time previous his attention was strongly turned upon religious subjects; that his natural conscientiousness, regard to truth, punctiliousness as to duty, and his attention to the means of grace were much strengthened; and that he was one of the first whose hopeful conversion became the harbinger of good things to come. As soon as he became, in his own estimation, a disciple of Christ, he put forth all his powers in the service of his Master. He considered himself called upon to live to the glory of God and the good of mankind. He took an active and conspicuous part in promoting the revival, and was anxious to extend its blessings to every individual in college. He shunned no responsibility and refused no labor in subserving to this end. Such had been his previous moral training, such the correctness of his views on matters of religion, such the maturity of his judgment, and such his general weight of character, that he seemed hardly to pass a novitiate in a religious life, but took at once the attitude of an old disciple. His counsel and advice were soon in demand, and were given with an ease and a promptitude which seemed natural only to long experience. How far his prayers and exertions contributed to advance that work of divine grace which diffused such joy and gladness through the churches in our land, and whose fruits are enjoyed to this day, can be known only to the Being to whom those prayers and exertions were consecrated."

"In a youth whose mind had been so well disciplined," says another, "and whose moral and even religious habits had been very much in accordance with the gospel, so far as the eye of man could see, the change from the old to the new man in Christ Jesus, would not be so marked, especially in his external conduct. But he was effectually convicted of his deep native depravity — placed no reliance for acceptance on any previous character or qualification, — and with a repentance accompanied with self-loathing and self-condemnation, he gave himself to God, relying solely on his mercy through Christ. I mention this because of his strictly moral life before his conversion, and that it may be known that from the first he was prepared to take the ground of total ill-desert on his part. But although no striking change appeared in his conduct, the evidence of a great revolution in the entire man appeared in the marked elevation of his whole mind, —his views, feelings and aims now having come under a holy influence; his virtues were ennobled and animated by the aspirations of holy love; his soul acted under a new sense of the excellence of purity, and struggled with fresh vigor to acquire it, — alive to the degradation of mankind under the pressure of sin, and alive to the purpose to vindicate the claims of divine truth. His correspondent solicitude for the spiritual welfare of his classmates and others, and the faithful labors which resulted from it, greatly endeared him to not a few, and rendered his usefulness to the church of Christ, even in the first weeks of his membership, prominent."

---

* Hon. John Hall, of Ellington, Conn.

But however high the estimate made by others of the Christian character and the usefulness of Mr. Evarts at this time, he was himself deeply sensible of his own insufficiency, and of his constant need of grace, and strength, and wisdom from above. The vacation, which commenced about the middle of May, was spent in a visit to his friends in Vermont. His journal gives evidence of habitual watchfulness and self-searching:

"Called," he says, "upon M., of the junior class. Found his religious impressions not yet worn off, — thanks be to God." "I sinned this day in speaking rashly and in harboring evil thoughts." "To-day I was vain, light, ostentatious and foolish in some of my behavior. For three nights past I have been where family prayers were attended. How delightful it is." "Sabbath. Last night I endeavored to examine my conduct for the week past. O Lord, it is of thy goodness that I am not cut off in my sins." "Lord's Day. As this is the first Sabbath in the month, I have endeavored to examine my conduct for the five weeks past." "During the week past I have spoken too much against people, and have been too ready to condemn others rather than myself." "Saturday. On looking back I find that for the past week I have been remiss in the daily examination of my conduct." "'Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.' The truth of this is seen in college at the present time. In several instances persons have all at once forsaken their vicious companions, and have bent their whole thoughts to the redemption that is in Christ. Those have been taken in whom we should have least expected such feelings. O Lord, continue to pour out thy spirit upon this institution. O may none here be left." "'He that converteth a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death.' Who that is qualified would not rejoice to engage in this labor of love! to convert one soul! to liberate an immortal soul from the bondage of sin, and from a state of exposedness to eternal banishment from the presence of the Lord, and to bring that soul into the way to the enjoyment of beatific visions forever and ever! How well is a neighbor's soul worth the toil of a whole life! What can be done for the salvation of men, that we ought not to do? How diligently ought we to search for opportunities to offer admonition, expostulation, or reproof; to bring the sinner's acts before the tribunal of his conscience, and to show him how depraved he is by nature and by practice. A faithful minister has the promise of a crown of glory laid up for him by his divine Master. How glorious to be the instrument of the Almighty in effecting the purposes of his love; how glorious to be called a servant of God, and to be engaged in the same work with him! Never since the days of the apostles was there more encouragement to preach the gospel, than now." "On Wednesday I did not give any admonition according to my fifth resolution."

Thus was commenced his Christian life; with a formal consecration of himself to God, with a series of written resolutions, and with daily, weekly, monthly, and annual seasons for the review of his conduct and for strict self-examination.

In the appointments for commencement, when he took his Bachelor's degree, an English oration was assigned to him, and his place for speaking was at the close of the morning exercises. "When his name was called," says a classmate, "some of the audience, wearied by the length of the preceding performances, were retiring. In his personal appearance there was nothing prepossessing; but he had scarcely began to speak, when there was a marked attention among those who were near him, which soon spread through the house. His subject was, "The Execution of the Laws." It was treated with such clearness of statement, such cogency of reasoning, and such eloquence and solemnity of appeal, as awakened universal admiration.*

Among the characteristic traits with which he left college may be noticed—

1. His attachment to his classmates. This was singularly strong. He loved them as brothers; and as long as he lived, no lapse of time, or change of place or of circumstances, obliterated his affection. If his memory is cherished, by those of them who survive him, with fond regard, it is not only a tribute justly due to his many virtues, but a merited return for his own fidelity of affection. In college he was one of the few who in that season of literary ambition and desire for personal distinction, can receive praise without being envied, and honors without being grudged. He was also one of the few who can receive praise without self-flattery, be honored without becoming proud, and be conscious of his own powers and attainments without self-conceit. It is not wonderful, therefore, that he passed through college and left it, as he did, without an enemy, and that friendships there contracted became perpetual. The dispositions thus cherished towards his early associates prepared him to derive similar advantages and pleasures from all the numerous and diverse connexions with his fellow-men into which he was thrown in after life. His fellow-laborers in the cause of truth and righteousness were, like his fellow-students, always friends.

2. Another characteristic as a student was, his deference to superiors in age, wisdom, and goodness, and his love of their society. He had none of that foolishness of youth which prevents sitting at the feet of age; none of that conceitedness of "little learning" which forbids listening with deference to riper scholarship. With an honest desire for improvement, and as the right of ingenuous youth engaged in the pursuit of knowledge, he sought the acquaintance of men eminent for wisdom and ability. He had none of that paltry vanity which seeks for companions among whom it can shine as the first; he never feared or blushed to be among men who would eclipse him. In the choice of society, and with regard to his bearing in it, he was honest, open-

---

* This Oration was afterwards published in the Panoplist, vol ii., p. 318.

hearted, manly. He knew his own resources, and used them freely but modestly, — perfectly willing that others should know alike their extent and their limits. This honest openness prepared him to turn his hours of social intercourse to the best account. While he was an under-graduate there was a periodical meeting of the literati of the college, to which a select number of his class were to be, for the first time, admitted, and to which he looked forward with high anticipations of pleasure and improvement. "I well remember," says a classmate, "his strong expressions of disappointment and indignation when the ill-timed levity of some of his associates prevented the benefit which might have been expected from such society."

3. Again, his mind was always awake to what passed around him, and industriously gathered materials for future use, from every quarter. His journals and note-books are replete with the fruits of this activity. The remarks of his instructors, especially those of Dr. Dwight; the exercises read by his classmates, and the disputes held by them before the tutors and the President; public occurrences; his hours of social intercourse and relaxation, as well as his studies and miscellaneous reading, — were all alike laid under contribution, and made subservient to the high purposes of self-improvement and future usefulness.

4. His habit of calling himself to strict account at regular and short intervals, is another point that deserves remark. He acted in the spirit of that Scripture, — *If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged.* In his pecuniary accounts he was equally strict. He never avoided any expenditures that were proper, and always made liberal provision of conveniences and comforts both for himself and his friends; but every cent was rigidly accounted for. This was habitual from his boyhood. To secure more perfectly the object of it, he adopted while in college the practice of a careful monthly examination of his accounts, when every item of expenditure was brought under review and criticised. On leaving college, the whole expenditures of the four years were faithfully reviewed. The items were arranged under distinct heads, with remarks upon each. The habits thus cultivated were of inestimable value to him afterwards, especially in connexion with various religious charities.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AT PEACHAM AND NEW HAVEN, 1803–1810.

AFTER leaving college, Mr. Evarts spent a few months at his paternal home, employed chiefly in classical and other studies and in writing, — his health, as it had been for a year or two, not vigorous but comfortable. His reading was, to considerable extent, in books of experimental religion. His plans for future employment were not definitely settled; and he felt the natural anxieties of a young man thrown upon his own resources, without funds, and with a constitution too feeble for hard service in any lucrative business. From his friends he saw that he had received all the pecuniary aid that he could expect or ask. Henceforth, said he, "I must bustle my way, somehow or other," possibly not quite aware how poorly qualified he was to make his way by dint of bustling.

"I intend," he wrote to a friend, December 1, "God willing, to return to Connecticut this winter, where I hope to engage in some employment by which I can support myself and be in the way of acquiring professional knowledge. I thank you for reminding me of the affecting scenes which we witnessed at college last spring and summer. O that we may always keep in remembrance the marked attention, the indescribable solemnity, and the deep concern which then prevailed, as well as the characters of those who were awakened and the solid comforts which we hope they received. While we keep these things in view we cannot but be admonished and guarded against sin, since we have *seen* so clear a manifestation of the power of God."

The plan here mentioned was, however, soon laid aside, in consequence of an application which he received from the Trustees of the Caledonia County Grammar School, at Peacham, Vermont, to take charge of that Institution as Principal. He accepted the proposal, and entered upon his new duties early in April. In this employment, and as a member of the family of the Rev. Leonard Worcester, the revered Pastor of the Congregational Church in Peacham, he spent a year, faithful as an instructor, and greatly adorning the religious profession that he had made. "Though he was usually quite cheerful," says Mr. Worcester, "his deportment was remarkably serious and devout; and his attention to the duties of religion, — to those of the closet, I had every reason to believe, as well as to those of a social and public nature, invariable. The Bible he studied much and with great apparent delight. He was, at that early period of his Christian course, remarkable for uniformity of character. At all times, and in every place, he appeared to be the same humble and exemplary Christian. My opportunities of meeting with him, after he left my family, were not very frequent; but from the short interviews with him which I did enjoy, my mind was deeply impressed with what seemed to me the same uniformity in his character, which I had noticed, with much pleasure, so long before. Allowing only for his advanced attainments, such as I found him, from time to time, at the age of from thirty to forty-five, or more, such, it always seemed to me, I had known him well, I think at about the age of twenty-two. This has appeared to me the more remarkable, as, while he was here, the state of religion among this people, and in all this region, was lamentably low. Among the youth, it had almost no existence. As a *young* Christian he stood alone. Of the somewhat less than fifty, who were then members of this church, I think only two were under the age of about thirty years; and those two were several years older than himself, and were married persons. Hence, from persons of his own age he could derive no assistance in his Christian course. For this reason he associated but little with such persons, as he greatly preferred the society of those whom he esteemed as the people of God, though much farther advanced in years. It was a time, too, when most of the young people in this place, and I believe in most other places, even in New England, indulged themselves very much in various vain amusements; and particularly, those of the ball-room. And, however strange it may appear to Christians of *your* age, and younger, it is nevertheless true, that, at *that* time, such amusements were somewhat more than tolerated, by many professors of religion, and by some highly esteemed ministers of the gospel, reputed orthodox. But against these things, Mr. Evarts took, unhesitatingly, a decided stand. I had previously borne my testimony against them, and excited some feeling on the subject, and considerable discussion. In this, Mr. Evarts became an efficient helper.

He was considered a good Instructor, and we should gladly have continued him longer in the school, had it suited his convenience. The uniformity in his Christian character, of which I have spoken, manifested itself in his school, as well as elsewhere. He appeared to feel a tender solicitude for the spiritual welfare of his pupils, as well as for their improvement in literature. I have reason to believe it was his constant aim, both by suitable instruction, and by his own Christian example, to impress divine things on their minds. Occasionally, he devoted the afternoon of Saturday to religious exercises with them.

You are aware, my dear Sir, that various plans for doing good, in the active and efficient promotion of which that truly Christian and conscientious philanthropy which developed itself so nobly in the after life of Mr. Evarts, were scarcely in operation at all two and thirty years ago. Even then, however, Mr. Evarts constantly manifested, that it was his "heart's desire and prayer to God," for others, that they might obtain salvation. He expressed much anxiety for the salvation of beloved relatives, and particularly for his beloved father, then advancing in years, without giving any evidence of an interest in Christ. In our religious conferences, then attended, however, almost only by professors of religion, he was always active, and showed how deeply he felt for those who had no anxiety for themselves.

In my family he was always a pleasant companion; free and familiar, and instructive in conversation. It was evidently his desire and his aim, that conversation might be on some topic, that could be turned in some way, to good account. Indeed I think scarcely any individual of my acquaintance, whether young or old, has ever appeared to comply, more carefully than he did, with this exhortation of the Apostle, "Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers."

His Diary, and Letters written during this period, show what were his habits, and especially the spiritual discipline to which he subjected himself.

Lord's Day, April 10. It is more than a year since I united with a Christian Church,—since I gave myself in covenant to God, and promised to renounce worldly vanities. How little have I served God—how much have I sinned! Let me think over the various kinds of wickedness that I have committed. Let me remember with strong crying and tears, my levity, my lukewarmness, my obduracy of heart, my profane and unprofitable thoughts, my yielding to temptation, my forgetfulness of God, my ingratitude, my selfishness, my worldly ambition, my fearing the censure of men more than the disapprobation of God, my neglect of the Sabbath, and many other sins. Let me also remember my unkindness to friends,—my parents, and others.

19. Saw an old acquaintance,—an infidel. I know not whether I did my duty effectually. Would to God he were converted!

23. Made some very serious observations to my school on the subject of religion,—taking occasion from the catechism which I was teaching. How unworthy am I to advise others to engage in religion. Perhaps I introduced reflections too solemn. I hope however it was with solemnity of demeanor.

30. To day I spoke freely to my school on the subject of religion. It appears to me that it would be delightful, unspeakably delightful, to serve God without sin.

May 1, Lord's Day. Looked over the covenant which I entered into with my classmates. Felt warmed in praying for them. Also reviewed my conduct for the month past. Although I have lived little to God, yet I have enjoyed something in attempting to pray. Secret prayer is a pleasant duty to me. In my school I have sometimes enjoyed myself in prayer. The Lord make me more and more engaged in his service. In the morning enjoyed contemplating the glory of the Gospel. It appeared to me that there was an irresistible argument in proof of our Savior being a teacher sent from God, from the things that he taught, and particularly from the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, which I had then in my mind. To day have enjoyed something in the service of God, I hope. I feel it impossible to do any thing as I ought, without divine assistance.

2. This morning was worldly-minded. I see the dreadful power which sin has over me. Am much exercised in mind with respect to a profession, and to a livelihood. Felt in the afternoon as if I could most gladly hail Christ as a Savior from sin.

4. At the closing prayer in my school, I thought I could cry, God be merciful to us sinners. Of what immense value is an immortal soul!

5. Some part of the day could not realize the things of eternity. They seemed to me as an idle tale. Sometimes they seem just as real as any thing in this world. Was rather too severe in school.

9. Was afraid God would take from me a sense of my sins. During the day felt carnal, sold under sin: in the evening was warmed towards God. My thoughts are too apt to wander at family prayers. The Lord deliver me from sin. It seems to me that I once in a while feel something in my heart that ought to make me tremble. O God, subdue this stubborn heart.

13. Attended a lecture preparatory to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. My thoughts are vile and wandering, my heart cold and dull, my duties frequently lifeless, and I seem to be blind, groping about for some one to lead me. The Lord make me such as he would have me to be!

15. Lord's Day. I again partook of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and I think found it for my comfort. I feel inwardly strengthened to make the inquiry always when I am about to do any thing, whether it will be to the glory of God.

20. In the morning had a turn of infidelity, i. e. every thing about religion appeared strange, and especially that the Son of God should have come into this corner of the universe to save such wretched creatures as I am. Had some sense of my sinfulness. My great wish is that I may have that love which casteth out fear,

and that I may sin no more. I do not know that I complied with my fifth recommendation yesterday. In my leisure moments I think over the sins with which my whole life has been filled. They appear dreadful.

22. Lord's Day. Beautiful weather. If any outward object can excite the mind to devotion, the appearance of nature at this time must. Hope I felt some love to God in morning devotions. I feel disposed to pray for my friends and my enemies, and for the enemies of religion. I feel disposed to plead with God that I may not be left to my own dark heart; that I may not be troubled with sceptical delusions. I have no doubt that, if God should leave me to my own dark heart, to my own blind mind, and to my own debased and depraved faculties, I should become an infidel in principle and an atheist in practice. Oh how I ought to cry to God continually to be delivered from the load of wickedness under which I labor; to fight, and strive, and pray to escape temptation, to lie low in the dust, to bridle my tongue; to animate, encourage, reprove, and strengthen Christians; to alarm sinners; to beware of ambition, avarice, and carnal lusts which war against the soul; to mourn because of my sins; to visit Mount Calvary, and weep there; to see him whom I have pierced and mourn because of him. O Lord, save me from sin—save me from evil thoughts—and uncharitableness; make me thine! make me thine! I must lie upon the mercy of God; for a man who is not worth a farthing cannot pay ten thousand talents. I think it is delightful to lie on the mercy of God.

25. Sometimes I look back upon my sins with horror, and sometimes I cannot discover them at all.

28. Had some sense of my vileness in the morning. Was struck with the inconceivable importance of an immortal soul. One soul is of more importance than all the worldly happiness of all men—incalculably more. Oh that I could reflect feelingly on the amazing responsibility which hangs upon every action that I perform. Oh for that love which is the fulfilling of the law, which purifieth the heart and overcometh the world.

June 3. Had a sceptical turn just at night. When I came to pray in secret it vanished.

7. Received letters from two of my classmates. They write

tenderly on religion. The Lord be with them, and deliver them from all their enemies.

8. Heard of an instance of gross transgression by one of my pupils. I pray God he may be humbled for it, and that his soul may not go on to destruction.

15. Had a sort of a sceptical turn. Every thing appeared strange; for instance, the salvation of men, the damnation of the impenitent, &c. Felt indisposed towards instructing in the catechism—cold and dull, and unprofitable.

16. I have concluded it is best to draw up a plan for the regulation of my conduct for three months to come. I wish to be regulated by it so far as I shall find it salutary only.

Here follows a minute plan for all the hours of the day, for the observance of the Sabbath, &c., ending with a few special cautions.

Pauca præcipue cavenda. Taking up a book to read without design to promote some useful purpose. Sitting down in idleness. Idle talking. Spending much time in reading newspapers. Being much engaged in worldly things. Indulging impure thoughts. Thinking too much of my weak constitution.

I beseech the glorious God to have mercy upon me for his name's sake; to bless me in the three months to come, if he should see fit to continue me on earth; to make me walk in the light of his countenance; to save me form sins; to draw me near to himself by the cords of love; to make me submissive to his will in all things. O Lord, guide me into all evangelical truth. Oh save me—save me, for thy mercy's sake!

17. At evening prayers it appeared delightful to pray for my friends, my parent, my brother and sisters, my classmates, for sinners, for infidels, for the heathen, for the church of God. I do not recollect that I complied with my fifth recommendation yesterday.

July 9. This day I set apart to consider my duty with respect to a profession. Wrote a considerable part of the day on the subject. Oh that I may spend the remainder of a life begun in so much sin, in the service of God.

In regard to this difficult subject of a profession, he writes to a friend, May 21, "I am *in statu quo*;—pretty much convinced, however, that my health will not allow me to preach. My prayer is, that God will give me grace to serve him in some way acceptably, for his name's sake." Again to another friend, a few weeks later :—" I have been much in doubt respecting my duty as to a profession. My religious friends advise me to preach. But I extremely doubt whether my health will ever permit. It seems now as if it would be almost a natural impossibility for me to go through with the labors of the Sabbath ; and I do not know that I have any reason to suppose that I shall be essentially stronger three years hence than now. If I only knew the path of duty, I *think* it would be pleasant to walk in it. Of late I have thought much of the vast disproportion between time and eternity. It astonishes, confounds, overwhelms me. Only think of the value of one soul. ' What manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of God !' When I see a large number of people together I cannot but reflect,—what an assemblage of immortal beings there are before me ! In almost every company we see, probably some will be made trophies of victorious grace in the day of the Lord Jesus, and some will finally reject the counsel of God."

These extracts abundantly confirm what Mr. Worcester says of the uncommon spirituality of Mr. Evarts,—uncommon certainly in a young man of his age and in his circumstances. It was to him an anxious as well as a laborious year. The duties of a school like his must have borne heavily upon one at once so inexperienced and so conscientious ; while with a feeble constitution and without pecuniary resources, the fortunes of another had become linked with his own, by a matrimonial engagement, and the important question of a profession was still undecided. But none of these things prevented the faithful and systematic watch over his own heart, and a persevering endeavor to form an elevated Christian character. With his clear conception of the law of holiness, his thoughts may have been employed too much upon himself and too little upon his Savior. Necessary as constant and strict self-examination is in the Christian life, it is yet a life of faith in the Son of God. It is sustained by the bread which came down from Heaven. It is by looking unto Jesus that the Christian becomes transformed into the same image. It is a fact, however, that eminent Christians often, if not generally, in the early part of their religious life, pass through a season of similar discipline. There seems also to be some true analogy in this respect between the first entrance upon a Christian life and subsequent progress in it,—between the process that ends in the new birth and the progress of sanctification. In both alike, the soul looks to the Savior because impelled by a sense of its own state and wants. Self-knowledge is the first gift of the awakening Spirit; and by a just analogy the same Spirit, in sanctifying the heart, might be expected often to move first in the same direction. Few men have had a more cheerful faith, looking unto Jesus, than Mr. Evarts habitually cherished in subsequent life.

Facts that show the tender solicitude and faithfulness of Mr. Evarts, as a Christian instructor, are incidentally mentioned in the above extracts. Among his papers are the subjects of the addresses made to his school, sometimes with a full outline of the topics introduced. He prepared himself for such duties with great care, and labored with prayerful earnestness to bring to repentance those who were committed to his charge. In school, and especially at the devotional exercises with which it was daily opened and closed, he was watchful over his spirit and manner, lest he should offend God by cold formality, and lest something should be observed in his demeanor or fall from his lips, that would leave an injurious impression on the young minds around him.

The question of a profession was not decided till after much prayerful deliberation, nor without difficulty. A gentlemen who enjoyed his friendship and confidence in a very high degree at the time, gives the following account of the grounds on which the decision was finally made:

"From the known activity and zeal of Mr. Evarts in religion, and his many qualifications for a minister of the gospel, his friends had never supposed that he would think of any other profession. It was with surprise, therefore, that they first learned his determination to study law. This step, however, he did not take without a most serious and conscientious regard to duty, and with a view to his greatest usefulness as a Christian. When he left college, it was his expectation to settle in the State of Vermont. Certain things seemed to him to render this measure indispensable. At that time religion was at a very low ebb in that section of our country. There were few men there in political life, and especially at the bar, of a religious character; and very many of them were openly and decidedly hostile to the truths of divine revelation. The influence which they exerted on society at large was most unfavorable to the cause of Christianity, and seriously impeded the labors of Christian ministers. Under these circumstances Mr. Evarts really believed that he could better subserve the cause of Christ, in Vermont, as a practitioner at the bar, then as a preacher. In this belief he resolved to study law, and as a consistent Christian lawyer, to combat ignorance, prejudice, and error, wherever met, and to promote a happy religious influence through that State. He thought that one truly pious lawyer, a man of talents, and thoroughly educated in his profession, would command more respect, and influence there, than many clergymen. As he aimed at high attainments in all things, so here, too, he aimed at nothing less. He intended to spare no pains in his professional studies, and to qualify himself for all the usefulness in his power. That he acted *honestly* in this determination, there is no question; whether he decidedly *correctly*, may admit of a doubt, but it is one I do not wish to solve. Could he have foreseen the happy change which was soon to take place in that State, in regard to those things which then pained his feelings, and without such instrumentality as he contemplated, I have reason to think that his choice of a profession might have been different. This, however, is a point which I will not attempt to decide. I know that he firmly held the opinion that a pious lawyer, with the right talents and perseverance, could render most important service to the cause of religion, *anywhere*, and that he seriously debated in his own mind whether it was not the imperious duty of *some* young men, of education, and piety, and talents, to engage in the profession of law, with a view to their most efficient usefulness to mankind. At that time the cause of foreign missions had not been started; no way of access to the heathen had been made known; the sympathies of the Christian community had not then been aroused in their behalf; and the imperative commands of Christ to send them the gospel had been but faintly considered, and more faintly still obeyed. The paramount importance, too, of *preaching the gospel*, beyond all other means of converting men to God, and of benefitting their souls, had been strangely overlooked, while secondary means had been exalted far beyond their value. It ought, therefore, less to excite the wonder of those, who are now better enlightened, that such a man as Mr. Evarts, placed in his circumstances, should have formed the conclusion which he did with regard to a profession. As soon as the cause of missions was brought forward, we know how instantly and earnestly his feelings were enlisted on its side. We know how promptly and how effectually he co-operated in all the benevolent movements of Christians, as they were successively made; and how cheerfully when duty seemed to call, and the time to arrive, he relinquished a profession which he had so deliberately chosen, and in which he had commenced a promising career. These several considerations will lead us to believe that, in his original choice of a profession, as well as in other matters, he acted conscientiously; and that the correctness of his judgment in this case, is not so questionable as an imperfect acquaintance with the actual state of things, and with the reasons and motives which governed him, might lead us to suppose."

In the following letter to his friend Swan we have a full statement of the difficulties with which he was beset in this matter:

TO MR. ROSWELL R. SWAN.

Peacham, December 5th, 1803.

Your friendly letter of November 10th was received on the 26th of the same month. I am obliged to you sincerely for the animadversions which it contains on the subject of a profession, though my mind is no more settled than it has been for a year or more. Indeed this subject has given me no small degree of distress; and I see not the least prospect of ever knowing my duty in the case. Perhaps it is right that for my sinfulness, I should be left in perpetual obscurity and darkness.

Those who are opposed to my studying law, stand on ground altogether untenable in my opinion. The arguments which they use would operate to exclude every man from that profession. If it is not right for a good man to study law, it certainly cannot be right for any man, as all men ought undoubtedly to be good, and as a wicked man is by no means justifiable in doing anything which a good man might not to do. The law then must be given up as a cage of unclean birds, or collection of harpies polluting everything by their impure touch. But do the persons who come to this conclusion, call to mind that almost all our laws come into existence by means of lawyers, and that this will probably always be the case, the world remaining as it is; and, moreover, that all who decide upon laws are, and ought to be lawyers; that is, they ought to have faithfully and diligently studied the laws upon which they decide; and this includes all that I mean by the word lawyer. So true is this, that I never heard of a great judge who was not a lawyer; and I believe it to be impossible, in the nature of things, that there should be one, unless he were directly inspired. For my part I do not know of any Judge of any important Court in the United States, who has not been a practising attorney. Then my opponents must say, that all our Judges who are to decide in cases of life and death, in cases of oppression, cruelty and extortion, in cases of religious liberty, (whenever persecution shall exist;) that all who are to legislate in matters of intricacy and importance; and that all who are to wield the Executive power of an extensive and numerous people, ought to be taken from this cage of unclean birds, this banditti from whom every good man ought to keep himself at a safe distance. I can hardly conceive of a greater inconsistency. The Bible abundantly establishes the propriety of having legislators, judges and officers to carry the laws into execution. And you know it is a maxim of common sense, as well as of law, that when anything is declared to be lawful, all other things which are necessary to the existence of that thing are declared to be lawful also. Thus when God sanctions the appointment of judges, he must sanction everything which is necessary to the proper qualification of these judges. The Old Testament is full of examples and precepts tending to show how good magistrates are made instrumental of building up and extending the church, and evil ones of destroying and wasting it.

But, perhaps, some one will say, that in the present situation of this guilty world, it is best for Christians to stand aloof from the concerns of it altogether, and to leave them to the direction of Satan and his satellites. But is this so? If all the restraints which the civil law imposes were taken off throughout New England, what would be the situation of Christianity three years hence? With respect to engaging in any business, it has ever been my opinion, at least ever since my thoughts have been in any considerable degree occupied by religion, that the welfare of immortal souls ought to be the ultimate object of every Christian's labors; and, consequently, that every Christian ought to make it the business not only of his life, but of every day and every hour, to be employed in such a manner as he shall judge most conducive to the accomplishment of this glorious design. This obligation does not lie upon a minister, or upon a person qualified to be a minister, exclusively, but it is binding upon every humble laborer, upon every mother of a family,—in short, upon every Christian, and upon every man. I should not have mentioned this, but it is a common notion among mankind, that it belongs to ministers to take care of the souls of men, and that other persons have no concern in the business. However, I have no hesitation in declaring, that I can see no usefulness, nor amiableness, in conduct which does not tend either immediately or remotely to the everlasting happiness of men.

But I do believe that many laymen are as useful in the Christian cause as many faithful ministers, or as they themselves would have been had they been ministers. For aught that I can see, a Washington by his wisdom may have saved a nation from domestic wars, which would have brought in their course every crime that can deform the human character, and filled the land with blasphemy and murder. So that, supposing him to have acted upon motives of obedience to God, I see not why he may not be ranked among the wise, between whom and those who have turned many to righteousness, there seems to be a very close connection. Indeed, I see not why he may not as really have been instrumental in saving souls, though not so immediately, as an Edwards or a Dwight. Why may not a Kennicott, supposing him never to have preached, have subserved the cause of religion as much as a Doddridge, a Fuller, or a Porteus? Why may not a Sir William Jones have been as really and as effectually a co-worker with Christ, as any minister of the gospel in Christendom? A sea-captain is a character which promises as little of piety as almost any in the world; yet, from what I have heard of Captain Wilson, I am ready to conclude that he has been as serviceable to the missions sent to the heathen from England, as any clergyman in Great Britain. In short, I cannot see that it savors less of humility, of attachment to the Christian cause, or of love to the souls of men, to talk of walking in the steps of Moses, of Joshua, of David, or of Daniel, who were rulers; or of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, or of Job, who were rich herdmen and agriculturists, diffusing peace and gladness all around them, than to think of imitating Samuel, or Isaiah, or Paul, in propagating the knowledge of divine truth. Or, to take men who are not at such an inconceivable distance from us in point of piety, is it not as much a mark of zeal for the truth to think of following a Treadwell, or an Ellsworth, or almost any of the ancient rulers of New England, as to imitate that very venerable body of ministers which our favored country has produced? If, then, the profession of law is not in itself unlawful, it remains to be determined by circumstances whether it is lawful for any given individual or not; for, doubtless, neither that, nor the ministry, nor any other profession is lawful for every man.

I have but a little room, but I will state what I apprehend to be a few facts. 1. My health is such now, that I do not know that I have the least shadow of reason to imagine I could go through with the labors of a single Sabbath. 2. From the unanimous advice of all the physicians whom I have consulted, and from six years experience, I am led to conclude that I never can expect good health, and but a very slow and gradual restoration to a comfortable degree of health. 3. Ministers, besides the labors of the Sabbath, have to prepare for that day, and to take a principal part in funeral solemnities, lectures, conferences, &c., which I am sure I could not perform. 4. Almost every minister whom I have known, who has engaged in that arduous work with a feeble constitution, has been obliged to leave it; and some who began with a good constitution. 5. It will take me a considerable time to get a profession, and then to be left without any resource, with something more than myself dependent upon me, would not contribute to the promotion of religion in my own soul, or the souls of others. 6. I conscientiously believe I could not recommend any society to settle a man of so frail a constitution as I possess, even should I be able to preach at first.

When I look at the bar, especially at the bar of Vermont, the prospect is exceedingly dark and unpleasant. The scarcity of good men here, is much greater than the scarcity of ministers. I am also fully persuaded that a close attendance upon Courts would be injurious to my health; but then a lawyer is not obliged to attend, and to labor so statedly as a minister is. The great temptation to a lawyer is worldly-mindedness, and with it comes desire to conform to the world. Where these gain a prevalence, religion is cut up by the roots. My great fear would be, therefore, that I should not live a religious life, and consequently that I should never do any good in the world. These considerations repel me from the bar many times, and I am driven to seek for a third alternative. But the instruction of youth would be a confinement for life, if I could go through with it; for merchandize or agriculture I have no stock, and am ignorant of both. That God would direct me, now and forever, is the prayer of your friend and brother.

The question being finally decided in favor of the law, he accordingly, at the expiration of the term of his engagement at Peacham, repaired to New-Haven and commenced his studies in that profession. In what spirit he did it, is shown by the following entry in his Diary:—

April 18, 1804. Entered myself as a student at law with Judge Chauncy. May God preserve me from sin in this arduous undertaking! Oh may I live near to God from day to day! May I keep my garments clean from all iniquity!

Some of his apprehensions of danger, it seems, were removed during the first months of his legal studies. "Last fall," he wrote to a friend in January 1805, "I had several conversations with Judge Ellsworth on the subject of Law. My objections to the practice I stated with the utmost freedom. He did not convince me that the profession was a lawful employment, for that I believed before; but that it was lawful to engage on the side of an unjust client. He argued in this way. It is not the lawyer's business to judge the cause; that is the province of the Judge who is appointed for that purpose; the lawyer may therefore state those things which are true, and are favorable to his client, and no more. A cause plainly dirty and indecent ought not to be patronized. But say here is a client who has no legal demand. The lawyer is bound to tell him so. He still insists upon having his claim tried by an impartial tribunal. Where is the wrong in stating those things which are really in his favor? Indeed where would be the right of pre-judging his cause, of refusing that aid without which he could not be heard, and of precluding a citizen from seeking his redress in a court of justice? The moment you preclude men from being judged by the law of the land, that moment you introduce club-law, and make every man his own judge, and his own avenger. Besides, perhaps he may be right. Chief Justice Hale, a Christian, whose ardent piety, inflexible perseverance in well-doing, and constant nearness to God, no man will doubt who has read his life, undertook, when he first entered upon practice, to refuse bad causes; but when he found that he had rejected two men who appeared afterwards to have right on their side, he relaxed as to his conduct in this particular. So invaluable was the privilege considered of being heard in a court of justice, that it is one of the principal provisions of Magna Charta, that it shall be denied to none of the king's subjects.

"Again, when a person has been confessedly guilty, (of theft for instance,) there may be many circumstances of extenuation, which, in order that justice may be done, the court ought to hear and feel.

"Judge Ellsworth allows that there are many temptations in the law, but desires that any employment may be pointed out in which there are not. So much for law."

In September following, (1804,) he married Mrs. Mehitabel Barnes, daughter of Hon. Roger Sherman; in whom he found a help eminently meet for the circumstances as well as for the man.

While a student at law, Mr. Evarts of course had upon his hands many of the cares of active life. To defray the expenses of his little family his house was opened to a few boarders, and he undertook the tuition of some young men who were preparing to enter college. But he yet found time for other studies than that of law. He was aiming to appear at the Bar and to sustain himself there by all the aid that a liberal course of study in other departments and a familiar acquaintance with the best models could afford. He had a regular plan of classical and other studies marked out, which he steadily pursued. He also wrote much for his own improvement, and frequently for publication.*

In July, 1806, he was admitted to the Bar and opened an office in New Haven, where he continued in the practice of his profession till 1810.

Three or four years spent at the Bar in New Haven were of course insufficient for the establishment of such a reputation, by a young man, as he might in due season command. Mr. Evarts was considered a well-read and sound lawyer; and was an able though not a *popular* advocate. In the progress that he made at the Bar, he encountered some peculiar and formidable obstacles. The duties and responsibilities of the office of Grand Juror are not in all cases divided in Connecticut, as in some other states, among a body of men; but it is made the duty of specified individuals in the different towns to *present* persons guilty of violations of law. In the discharge of the duties of this office, Mr. Evarts had an opportunity for the practical exemplification of the principles enforced in his Baccalaureate Oration. A gentleman who was at that time a member of the New Haven Bar, gives the following account of the circumstances:—Mr. Evarts, he remarks, "ever had too much unbending integrity to be a popular lawyer. He suffered not a little, and from some gentlemen of high standing in the profession, for his unyielding firmness. The circumstances respecting which you inquire, arose from the faithful discharge of his duty as one of the Grand Jury for New Haven County, in the prosecution of some individual or individuals for obvious violations of some law of the state that had *uniformly* been winked at by other persons in the same office. I do not now remember what the offence was; but it was one "contra bonos mores"—perhaps the violation of the Sabbath. Mr. Evarts said to me that his *oath* bound him to the prosecution; and he could not be governed by the corrupt usages of other men. He accordingly commenced a process,* but failed of convicting the offending party. He was opposed by the first lawyers of the state;—and denounced, and greatly and shamefully abused, and by the community at large. He suffered for a long period on this account, and for righteousness' sake."

---

* Among his earlier publications were the Oration which he delivered at the commencement in 1805, when he was admitted to the degree of A. M. (Panoplist, vol. 1, pp. 349, etc ;) a Dissertation on the state of literature in New England, read before the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa, (Panoplist, vol. 2, pp 471, etc. ;) and several articles on the Study of the Law, published in the Literary Cabinet—a Magazine edited by under-graduates, among whom was the late Thomas Smith Grimke, Esq., of South Carolina. This distinguished scholar and philanthropist, and most amiable man, was for some time a member of Mr. E.'s family; they were on terms of intimacy during the whole residence of the former in New Haven, and cherished through life the sincerest mutual respect and affection.—In the Literary Cabinet, Mr. E.'s signature was "Coke;" in the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, the early volumes of the Panoplist, and the newspapers at that time, "C. Y. A." (Collegii Yalensis Alumnus.) After he became Editor of the Panoplist, he wrote for that work under the signatures of Philalethes, A. B., A. M, V. A., Agenor, Antipas, Benevolus, and others.

---

* How indeed could a man do otherwise, who in his heart entertained views respecting oaths of office like those which Mr. E. afterwards published:—

"It might be curious," he says, "to form an oath of office to suit the practice of many of our public officers. If I mistake not, it would run somewhat as follows:—'I solemnly swear, that I will faithfully and truly discharge the duties of a ——— as prescribed by the laws of this Commonwealth; *provided said laws are, in my opinion, just and salutary, and have not become obsolete in consequence of the improvements of modern times; and provided it shall seem to me expedient that the said laws should be executed; and provided I can discharge the duties imposed upon me by said office with perfect ease, comfort, and reputation to myself, and without the smallest risk of incurring any personal inconvenience or unpopularity.*' Would not such an oath be a gross affront to God—an impudent trifling on a most solemn subject? What must be the guilt, then, of taking a very different oath, and *acting* as if it were expressed in the manner above stated?"—*Panoplist*, vol. 10, p. 362.

"Official perjury," he says again, "differs from other kinds of false swearing in this, that it is not an attestation to a falsehood, but an engagement entered into with an oath to perform certain duties, which duties are afterward voluntarily neglected. It is seldom less heinous than other kinds of perjury; but is often more so, as it is deliberate, persisted in, and habitual. It is committed more commonly than in any other manner, by a neglect to execute laws which the person had solemnly sworn to execute. And if there is any meaning in an oath of office, if it is not an insignificant ceremony, every civilized country lies under the horrid guilt of trifling with God in the most vital concerns of the community. In this dreadful condemnation our country must come in for a large share. Our morals have been fortified by wise, judicious, and efficient laws; laws which experience has proved to be salutary and efficient; but as immorality became bold, our magistrates have become timid; they have forgotten their oaths; and if this country is corrupted and destroyed, to the neglect of official duties must be charged the guilt of destroying the most favored nation that the sun ever shone upon. I am not ignorant of the answers to this heavy charge; and I know full well their miserable futility. *If half the magistrates in New England would go on resolutely, unitedly, and prudently in the discharge of their plain duties, those duties which they are sworn to discharge, they might yet save their country.* They might effectually put down Sabbath-breaking, profaneness, drunkenness, gambling, lewdness, and idleness. I do not suppose that they could prevent these sins in every degree; but they might effectually discountenance them, and drive them utterly from public view. How great is the sin of contributing to destroy a whole people!—*Panoplist*, vol. 7, p. 306.

So completely had he brought his whole being into accordance with the purest and strictest law of righteousness in regard to official duty.

> Nor number nor example with him wrought
> To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
> Though single.

He was the farthest possible from being rash or obstinate. But his conscientiousness and public spirit were both great; and either, in connection with his uncommon sagacity and judgment, would have sufficed to keep him, in circumstances like these, above all the influences of fear or favor that must of necessity bear strongly upon a young lawyer situated as he was. It was these sterling qualities that enabled him to encounter the obloquy of men at the head of the profession, and whose bearing towards him must of course almost decide the question—so important to him then—of his present success at the Bar. In the same spirit he could disregard the threats by which the unprincipled sometimes endeavored to intimidate him,—supposing doubtless that the fears of a man so unable to repel force by force might be easily practiced upon. Being at one time engaged in a suit in which the opposite party felt that his character, as involved in the transaction, was vulnerable, Mr. Evarts was taken aside and threatened with personal violence should he touch upon certain points. He heard the threat calmly; and when called upon to speak in the case did not fail to set the unworthy conduct of the party in its proper light.

During this period, and indeed always, he took a lively interest in political affairs. From his first entrance on life as a freeman he thought much on the privileges and never shrunk from the duties involved in that character. Nor as a citizen, any more than as a magistrate, were his principles of action derived from the practice of others. He looked to those higher sources in the neglect of which so many trifle with the most solemn obligations and degrade the very name of freeman. If he was a zealous partizan, he was also a conscientious one. In comparing the two great political parties of the times, his favorite points were connected with moral and religious considerations. His influence could never be diverted, by any considerations, from the support of what he believed to be the real moral interests of the country. He studied, indeed, thoroughly, the measures and general policy of the parties; and few men could assign with equal promptness and precision, reasons for condemnation or approval, with reference to the more obvious and generally appreciable grounds of policy. But he went higher. All political movements and changes were intimately connected in his mind with the interests of morality and religion. Above all things he was anxious to see enlightened conscience supreme in every public office. The services or attachments of party were lighter than air in the comparison. Nothing would sooner arouse his indignation than to see an individual in public life, using the influence that office gives, to undermine the principles and corrupt the morals of the young and ignorant.

Neither the study nor the practice of his profession withdrew his attention from the claims of religion, or weakened his sense of responsibility as a Christian. When most engaged in these pursuits, he never allowed himself either through indolence or easy conformity to the habits and manners of associates older at the bar and respected by all, to appear as any other than a strictly religious man. It was not with him as with too many, who disappoint not only their friends but themselves, after their entrance upon a secular profession, by losing in its cares, its pleasures, its hopes, and the society to which it invites, the spirit of Christians, and that deep sense of responsibility to God and of obligation to imitate their Lord in doing good, with which they appeared to select the pursuit and to enter upon its studies. With Mr. Evarts every thing *continued to be* subservient to his obligations and pursuits as a disciple of Christ. By keeping his heart thus fixed, his character and habits as a Christian philanthropist were subjected to excellent discipline during this whole period. He wrote for the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine and afterwards for the Panoplist,—both works of high character at that time; and took a lively interest in the circulation of both. He was one of the originators, and while he remained in New-Haven, the secretary of the Connecticut Religious Tract Society,—wrote a number of its publications, and spent much time in gratuitous efforts to promote its objects.

As a member and officer of the church of Christ at this period he will be best described in the language of his Pastor,* who speaks of him as follows:—

"Soon after my settlement he attached himself to my church, where, from first to last, he was always an active and most conspicuous member.

"Not long after he had joined us, an unusual attention to religion commenced among my people. The consequence of this was increased efforts of a religious nature among all who were actually engaged in the cause of religion; among whom no one was more conspicuous than Mr. Evarts. He was soon chosen a deacon of the church, in which office he demeaned himself in the most noble, Christian, and exemplary manner, being always ready to every good word and work. So many religious meetings were held, during the revival, that it was quite impossible for me to attend them all. Mr. Evarts, therefore, often supplied my place, praying, reading some appropriate piece, and following these, made such remarks as the occasion required.

"The sound sense, the enlightened views, and the ardent piety which he manifested in this way, were so conspicuous, that the meetings which he attended were never complained of as being deficient in interest. He and another excellent man, the late deacon S. Twining, of New Haven, were my *right-hand* men, on whom I could always lean, and in whom I felt that I could repose unreserved confidence. In this respect I was never disappointed.

"Never have I known any man, in whom the Christians of my church had more unreserved confidence, than in Mr. Evarts, and none to whom it was more justly due. His was not the flashing light which gleams, and glares, and excites wonder, and then dies. It was the steady, diffusive, warming, cheering, vivifying light of the sun, which sheds life, and animation, and cheerfulness on all within its reach.

"When I look back on those scenes of my early life, and ask,

---

* The Rev. Professor Stuart, of the Andover Theological Seminary.

Where and when have I seen their like? I am constrained to feel that, so far as my experience is concerned, I have witnessed none of altogether the same tenor. It falls to the lot of few of my beloved brethren in the ministry to have two such deacons as those above-named. I am sure few can remember any associates with more unmixed delight than I do these.

"I have never yet had the experience of knowing any man, in whom all his acquaintance placed more unreserved confidence, whether religious, civil, or social, than was placed in Mr. Evarts. The enemies even of religion spoke but one voice respecting him. Although some pronounced him to be mistaken in his views and feelings, they believed him to be *sincere*.

His *private* character was one of the most faultless and complete that I have ever known. Envy, slander, detraction, and every thing of this nature, which forms so conspicuous a feature in the character of many even that are called Christians, were as remote from him as from any man that I have ever yet known. Then there was an expansive, enlightened, elevated, noble state of mind and feeling, that rendered him incapable of descending to the arts which many employ, either to thwart his opponents, or to throw obstacles in the way of those who were treading with himself the path to high esteem and elevated station in the minds of the sober part of the public. All that was or could be gained by his fellow-Christians, of true and solid reputation, seemed to him to be clear gain to the church, and therefore to the stock whose interests he was most engaged to promote.

"He left New Haven in January, 1810, in the same stage-coach with myself, to take the editorship of the Panoplist, at Boston, while I came to this place. Never did I, never can I, have a dearer friend. The remembrance of his friendship, and of his endearing qualities and virtues, comes over me like a refreshing breeze from the regions of the blessed. But ah! the thought that he is gone from the circle of action in which I yet move—this makes life less desirable, and death more welcome.

"There are many excellent, very excellent men in the church now, whom I highly esteem and love. But how can I ever feel, in all respects, towards any one who has not been connected with me as Mr. Evarts was, just as I did towards him? Who will be ready to censure me, if I do not and cannot?

"More unbending integrity, more fidelity, and steadfastness, and true-heartedness, and modesty, and humility, and ardent devotion, and enlightened zeal, and sound judgment, and trust-worthiness, and kindness, I never expect to find in this world; and not many have gone to the other, who have more excelled in all that belongs to the true character of the Christian, the scholar, and the gentleman."

A few extracts from the correspondence of Mr. Evarts, during this period, are added:

TO THE REV. LEONARD WORCESTER.

December 8, 1806.

I observe by the papers that our wise Assembly men have attempted to repeal all laws tending in any way to support or countenance religion. It seems, however, that they could not quite get a vote. It is lamentable that so many could be brought to wish for such a repeal; and greatly to be desired that people would learn that men of piety, virtue, public spirit, and patriotism, make the best rulers, and ought on *all* occasions to be preferred to those whose private lives are infamous, and whose public conduct is little else than a loud and clamorous pursuit of their own aggrandizement.

I think it very possible that I shall remove to Vermont next spring or summer, as my friends are very urgent to have me do it; and a more active, stirring life than I lead here, agrees with my health. Should I remove, I hope to exert what talents and influence I may have in the service of God.

TO THE SAME.

December 24, 1807.

It was with much interest that I read your account of affairs at Peacham. I cannot but hope to hear that the solemn visitations of Divine Providence have been the means of awakening sinners, and exciting an attention to the realities of the world to come. Mr. B.'s death struck me as an event full of alarm to those who were equally careless with him about the concerns of the soul. I hope it has had the effect of an alarm upon them.

You have probably heard ere this of the uncommon revival of religion at Litchfield and Goshen, in this State. At the latter place there has been an unusual concern for many months—I believe considerably more than a year—and more than a hundred persons have joined the church in consequence of the awakening. The attention still continues great. At Litchfield the concern began about six months ago, and was attended at first by some very striking circumstances. It began on the same day in several different parts of the town, without any uncommon visible means, and without any intercourse or communication between the persons affected. The attention soon became general, and so continues at the present time. Twenty-seven were admitted into the church at once in November, and thirty more are propounded for admission next Sabbath. This revival has pervaded all parts of the town, but especially the thickest settlement about the meeting-house, where for three quarters of a mile along the town street, as I have been informed from good authority, more than three fourths of the young people are either hopeful converts or solemnly affected. The work is still increasing.

The people of this city are very inattentive to religion; though there is, I hope, somewhat of an increased eagerness to hear. Mr. Stuart cannot but hope that there are signs of an awakening here. The church has appointed a monthly meeting, in conjunction with the other church in this town, for the purpose of praying for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. We have conferences also once a week, confined principally to professing Christians, for the same purpose, and for Christian instruction; and we have pretty frequent church meetings, for the purpose of reviving church discipline and promoting brotherly communion. It is not an easy thing to revive discipline where it has become obsolete.

TO A SISTER.

August 19, 1808.

The attention to religion continues here. The whole number admitted to both Congregational churches, with those now propounded, is over one hundred and forty. The young converts are generally very circumspect and exemplary in their Christian life. A number of the young females meet by themselves once a week for reading and religious conversation, and they allow nothing to be said but on religious subjects. They are faithful also to admonish each other of faults. The appearance of the town is greatly changed for the better. Parties of mere amusement are almost done with, and there is a great attendance on all religious meetings.

TO MR. JOHN HALL.

January 21, 1809.

Of the state of religion here you have doubtless heard much. New Haven is indeed greatly changed. More than two hundred persons have professed their faith in Christ within a year, and many more are anxious for their salvation. Almost all, except decided scoffers, are more or less serious. There has been a decline of the seriousness, but we hope it is reviving at present. How constantly, how perseveringly, how anxiously ought we to pray for the continuance and extension of so glorious a work. I have to reproach myself with much slothfulness in this branch of duty.

TO HIS SISTER.

July 21, 1809.

The state of religion here is much more pleasing than in most parts of our country. Almost all the young ladies in the most wealthy and respectable families are either professors of religion, or are so well disposed towards it as to speak and act with the greatest reverence on the subject. And those who profess to be religious make it a very serious business; we have every reason to believe that they make great progress in the divine life. More than three hundred have united with the churches here since the beginning of January, 1808.

TO THE REV. LEONARD WORCESTER.

January 31, 1810.

You have heard of Mr. Stuart's removal to be a Professor at Andover. This was a serious trial to his people and to the friends of religion generally. In the short space of three years and ten months he had been made the instrument of great good. In this brief period two hundred were added to his church, twenty-eight from other churches, and one hundred and seventy-two from the world; of the latter, one hundred and forty were hopeful converts, during the revival which commenced about two years ago. The state of the church is now very pleasant. Much animation exists in the pursuit of religious knowledge, and in the practice of piety and virtue; much sorrow for sin, much earnest prayer, and considerable exertion for the salvation of those who are yet impenitent. I trust that God will graciously supply the vacancy occasioned by Mr. Stuart's removal, but see not at present how it can be done.

To Mr. Merwin's church there have been added since the revival commenced, I believe, about two hundred. This Divine blessing you will, with us, regard as most important, and a subject of elevated joy. The manners and general demeanor of the people of the town have undergone an evident change. On the whole, New Haven is the most agreeable place to live in that I am acquainted with.

CHAPTER III.

EDITOR OF THE PANOPLIST. 1810—1821.

NOTWITHSTANDING what is said at the close of the preceding chapter about removing to Vermont, and the pleasantness of New Haven, we find Mr. Evarts, very soon after the last date, on a visit to Massachusetts, considering the question of a removal to Boston, Charlestown, or Andover. He had received an invitation to take charge of the Panoplist, as editor. In a letter written during this visit, he says: "On the subject of a place in which to live, and an employment to fix upon, I am often perplexed. I consider it as undoubted that if I enjoy health which will permit me to remove, New Haven must be left; although it is a place in which I should rather live than in any other that I am acquainted with, on all accounts, except the single one of a support. If I had a reasonable assurance of support immediately from my profession alone, I should think it my duty to engage in no other employment. But my experience at New Haven leads me to distrust appearances, which might otherwise perhaps satisfy me. This experience seems to tell me that I am not to get a living by the law, although I am well convinced that my talents are better fitted for practice at the bar than for any other employment, *if I could only get business.*

"The principal reasons which induce me to think of the Panoplist are:—1. A living; one thousand dollars a year insured to me—without which I shall do nothing—would be a very competent support in Charlestown. 2. The employment would be the means of doing much good. 3. It would lead to such studies as are perfectly suited to my taste, and in which I should be very pleasantly engaged, if engaged at all. To these advantages are to be opposed the difficulties of suiting the two great parties of religious people here;* the difficulty of satisfying persons of taste; the hazard of stepping out of one's profession, &c. &c. Perhaps my mind is disposed to see evils. May God direct us all."

That the failure at the bar, mentioned in this letter, was for want of talents well adapted to the business of the profession, is a supposition which those who were best capable of judging unanimously reject. Gentlemen of the bar who knew him intimately then, and in later periods of his life, unite in regarding his talents as remarkably fitted for the law. It may be said that he left the profession too early. But might not a young man of even ordinary qualifications, known personally and by reputation for character and scholarship as well as Mr. Evarts was in New Haven, expect in the course of three or four years, to make some progress, and to receive something more than enough to defray his office expenses? The chief obstacles to Mr. Evart's success at New Haven arose from circumstances already mentioned. He early rendered himself obnoxious to men eminent at the bar, and to many others, by the faithful discharge of official duty; and his residence at New Haven was too short to overcome the difficulties that he had to encounter from this cause. Other duties were before him; and in the providence of God these difficulties were made both a salutary discipline and a means of compelling him to enter another field of labor. How much would probably have been lost to the cause of missions, to our country, and to the world, had the circumstances of his early professional life been different; had immediate success greeted him, and fame and affluence beckoned him on. He whose ways are not our ways, had taken the young lawyer by the hand, and was leading him through difficulties and trials, through reproach and obloquy, through seasons of darkness and discouragement, into the very sphere of labor for which, above all, he was best fitted, and in which, for the service of Christ and the well-being of mankind, the labor of such a man, at that period, were most needed.

---

* Hopkinsians and Calvinists.

His character had been formed under a strong influence from the great religious movement that marked the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. The Wesleyan and Baptist Missionary Societies and the Sunday School Society, were formed in London in his childhood; and during his youth the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Edinburgh Missionary Society, the London Religious Tract Society, and in this country, the Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York Missionary Societies, had come into existence, and were already attracting the attention of the Christian community. The journals and correspondence of their missionaries and agents had the freshness of novelty, and often an interest for the imagination, as well as the heart, that took a strong hold of the susceptible and benevolent. The moral and religious state of the world was becoming known; startling disclosures of ignorance and sin were made in Christian as well as in heathen lands; and men wondered, as at a new discovery, to read of the power of the gospel to subdue all things unto itself. Sir William Jones, who had done more than all other men at the time to awaken an interest in the condition of the millions of British India, died in 1794; and his life and labors were afterwards brought impressively home to the bosom of young scholars, and to the Christian public, in the congenial memoir of Lord Teignmouth. Before Mr. Evarts entered on his professional life, those most degraded specimens of humanity, the Hottentots of South Africa, had begun to yield to the purifying and elevating truths carried among them by Kicherer and Vanderkemp, and the triumphs of the gospel in distant Tahiti had already commenced. On the one hand, infidelity had burst out in the horrors of the French Revolution, and was agitating Europe and America; while on the other, Wilberforce was in the zenith of his power, and John Newton, Thomas Scott, the Burders, the Fullers, the Marshmans, the Careys, the Thorntons, the Macauleys, and the glorious company of their fellow laborers of different communions, were living exemplars of Christian discipleship, — distant enough to secure for the young the full benefit of reverence, and yet near enough for sympathy and attraction. With such individuals abroad and with men of congenial spirit in our own country, Mr. Evarts felt himself intimately allied from the day that he began to cherish the Christian hope; and his feelings were elevated and his views expanded by the thought. The affectionate reverence with which, in his early years, he regarded the Christian statesmen and philanthropists of England, was remarkable, and was cherished through life.

It was within the first ten years of the present century, Mr. Evarts being still of an age naturally most susceptible of generous impulses, that the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed, and the example soon imitated in the organization of the Philadelphia and Connecticut Bible Societies; that the first Tract Societies in this country were organized; that some of the General Associations of Congregational ministers in New England originated, and mutual intercourse by delegates began among them; that the Andover Theological Seminary was established; that the publication of the Christian Observer and Eclectic Review, the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine and the Panoplist, were commenced; that the Serampore Translations of the Bible attracted most earnest attention; and that Buchanan visited the Syrian Christians in India, and began to sound his trumpet-call to the field of Christian missions through Europe and America.* In a word, the first twenty years of the life of Mr. Evarts, after childhood, were crowded with events most important in the religious history of modern times. New fields for Christian effort were discovered, new plans suggested, new enterprises undertaken. He welcomed the movement with his whole heart. He entered into life under its influence. He saw that it was right—that it was in accordance with the law of love, and was demanded by the highest religious obligation. And, as we have seen in other spheres of action, convictions of right and duty were the law of his life, so it was here. He was of course naturally led to watch all the religious movements of the time. When the Panoplist was established in 1805, he welcomed it as a new instrument of good, and soon became one of its favorite correspondents. Hence the invitation that has been mentioned. In May, 1810, he removed to Charlestown.

---

* The Sunday School Society was founded in 1785; the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1786; the Baptist Missionary Society in 1789; the London Missionary Society in 1795; the Edinburgh and New York Missionary Society in 1796; the Connecticut Missionary Society in 1798; the London Religious Tract Society and the Massachusetts Missionary Society in 1799; the Church Missionary Society in 1800; the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804; the Connecticut Religious Tract Society in 1807; the Philadelphia Bible Society in 1808; the Connecticut Bible Society in 1809; the publication of the Christian Observer was commenced in 1801; that of the Panoplist in 1805; the Andover Theological Seminary was organized in 1808.

The Panoplist owed its existence very much to the Rev. Jedediah Morse, D. D., of Charlestown, who is understood to have been the principal editor for several years, aided, however, and with great efficiency, both in the commencement and continuance of the work, by the best writers among the orthodox Congregationalists of Massachusetts and the neighboring states. Every one acquainted with the state of things in New England, and especially in Massachusetts, at that period, knows how important an influence this work exerted as a vehicle of evangelical truth and important religious controversy; how much it contributed to sift opinions, stem the tide of error, diffuse an enlightened and scriptural piety, and awaken the disciples of Christ to vigorous exertions for extending the kingdom of their Lord. Its establishment will ever be regarded as marking an era in the religious history of New England.

The Congregational churches were then beset with peculiar difficulties and dangers. Unitarianism existed to a great extent, but not in its present open and tangible shape. Its spirit had become dominant among the professors and guardians of Harvard College, that ancient monument of enlightened piety, devoted, in the earliest year of New England, *Christo et Ecclesiæ*, to Christ and the Church. It was exerting a powerful and ceaseless influence on the public mind from the heights of metropolitan literature. It numbered among its adherents those who gave law to public opinion in matters of taste and learning. But Unitarianism was not then, as now, the system of another well-defined body of men out of the bosom of orthodox Congregationalism. Its ministers had not, to much extent, appeared before the public as such; their own views of Christian doctrine were doubtless in many cases exceedingly vague and unsettled; and in that transition state it was their natural policy to countenance and to cherish the belief that they had not departed *essentially* from the faith of their fathers and of their orthodox brethren. Thus, while undefined, and not distinctly before the public in the writings or in the preaching of its ministers, the system was spreading among pastors and in the churches. Many, from their connection with a denomination known to be evangelical as a body, had a name to live, while as to all knowledge of spiritual truth and experience of its power, they were dead. By silence respecting the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel, and by introducing other views by slow and imperceptible degrees—whether as the natural result of their own gradual departure from the truth, or from motives of policy—pastors had led their flocks far astray. And even where the errors of the invading system were not distinctly embraced, there had arisen extensively a strong distaste for the doctrines and practices which the Fathers of New England regarded as according to godliness. The spirit of evangelical piety was hardly to be found in free and vigorous action in a single Congregational church in Boston. Even where such piety existed, its free growth and natural impulses were checked, and the influence that it ought to exert was opposed, more or less, by interests and agencies of another character in the same church. Park-street Church was formed in 1809, on exclusively evangelical principles; and it was there only, in Boston, that Congregationalists who held the faith and cherished the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers, could unite their prayers and efforts for mutual edification and for the diffusion of truth, in the confidence of meeting such only as were one with themselves in principle and in feeling.* So great a defection in the metropolis did not exist, of course, without an extensive corresponding change in the country. In many of the most important towns, the larger and more wealthy societies had come entirely under the same influences with those of Boston; and throughout some large districts, the spirit of true Christian piety seemed almost to be gone and past recovery.

---

* In saying this, the important services rendered to the cause of truth by many excellent members of the Old South Church, indeed, by that Church as a body, are not forgotten. To that venerable body belongs the distinguished honor of having maintained the faith of our fathers through the whole period of declension referred to, and of upholding alone the ancient standard, before the Park-street Church was formed. That some of its members were more or less ensnared by the prevalent errors, is no matter of wonder; that as a body, it constantly maintained the truth, shows the power of Divine grace in a company of intelligent and devoted Christians, most of whom have gone to their rest, and whose memory is precious.

Nor were the friends of truth so strong as they have since become, in knowledge, in faith, in mutual confidence and co-operation, and in the power derived from associated labors in the service of their common Lord. By comparatively very few, even of the clergy among the orthodox, were the the nature and tendencies of Unitarianism well understood; and the duties required by such a state of things were not, therefore, generally seen or appreciated. The points of difference between the parties had not been studied, discussed, defined. The orthodox were not sufficiently acquainted with each other. They did not know their own strength as a body. In looking to one neighboring church or another for sympathy and advice, they could not be sure that it would be accorded to them in the spirit which they loved, because they had no adequate means of knowing how far those churches remained sound in the faith. In a word, the process of separation had hardly begun; and there was all the weakness of discordant materials and incongruous mixtures, — of doubt, hesitation, and perplexity from a thousand causes. The churches had a process of purification and special instruction to go through; it was necessary that they should rid themselves of the more palpable incumbrances of error, and put on armor against it.

The orthodox churches, and orthodox members of Unitarian or mixed churches, also suffered, even more than now, from inadequate views of their duties and privileges as Christians. With some exceptions on a limited scale, there were yet no societies for distributing Bibles or Tracts, for educating young men for the ministry, or for missions, domestic or foreign. The movement in this direction was but beginning. The churches had not generally learned to strengthen and enlarge themselves by means of these institutions, and were to a melancholy extent, ignorant of their value. That series of revivals of religion which has been as life from the dead to the churches of this land for the last thirty years, and the influence of which is now felt in the four quarters of the globe, had scarcely commenced; and little was known of the thousand agencies of the living voice and of the press that now give simultaneous impulse to Christian philanthropy and enterprize throughout the country. Even of the state of the churches themselves there was much less mutual knowledge than at present; much more, notwithtstanding the movement already begun, was there a sad ignorance of the vast destitute regions of our own country, and of the wants and claims of heathen nations.

Such was the state of things when the publication of the Panoplist was commenced, and such it was essentially, when Mr. Evarts removed to Massachusetts and became the editor. He had from the first, as has been before remarked, been among the most constant writers for it; and his qualifications for such pursuits and his love of them had thus become well known to the conductors; and they united in urging the editorship upon him with an earnestness and importunity which, considering the character of the applicants, it would have been difficult to resist. He acceded to their proposals with much hesitation, and as an experiment. Thoughts of engaging again in professional labors were, however, soon abandoned; for he found himself fully employed in duties congenial to his tastes, and demanding the exercise of his highest powers and best affections.

The arrangement was a happy one. His qualifications for the editorship of such a journal are rarely combined in one individual. He was a practical and well-disciplined writer. He was accustomed to investigate subjects with direct reference to the state of the public mind, and to the wants of the church and the world; and he had a fondness for writing which rendered it a pastime. His mind had been trained by severe discipline, and was furnished with extensive knowledge on a great variety of subjects, and entirely at his command. He had great critical acumen, and was able to search out and expose the most intricate and plausible sophistry. His power of discrimination and analysis, and his ability to examine a subject till he knew that he had seen the whole of it, and to arrive at conclusions in which to rest safely and with confidence, were remarkable. He was remarkable, also, for accuracy, industry, and patience in research. While he possessed a moral courage that nothing could daunt, he was adorned with uncommon candor in controversy, and meekness and self-command under reproaches. His high estimate of the power and importance of the press, and his deep sense of responsibility, effectually secured him against rashness, and directed his labors toward the public good. His elevated standard of religious feeling and action, and especially his enterprize and zeal in behalf of religious and charitable institutions, were just what was needed at that time in one sustaining that relation to the Christian public. In regard to the condition and wants of the churches, of the country, and of the world, his mind and heart were full. Subjects were always pressing upon his thoughts and his conscience. In writing, his mind was too much engrossed with his subject and too fertile upon it, to admit of his being verbose or discursive. His style was characterized by no ornament, except such as is involved in expressing thought clearly, forcibly, and with strong feeling. His diction was pure and copious; always manly, and indicative of the energy and comprehensiveness of his mind.

Under his care, the reputation of the Panoplist immediately rose; and it was probably better supported, and had more of the confidence of the religious community generally, for the ten years during which it was under his editorship, than any similar work ever published in this country. This was secured as much by its admirable adaptation to the wants of the public, as by the sound judgment in other respects, and the literary ability and taste with which it was conducted.

But his character as a Christian editor may be better illustrated by a glance at some of the prominent objects to which his labors were devoted.

Among these objects, the elevation of Christian character, especially with reference to the use of property and to activity in doing good, held a prominent place. The excellence and dignity of the Christian character,—the goodness and mercy of God in calling men to be partakers of his holiness and co-workers with him in doing good—the opportunities for the exercise of Christian beneficence in a world like this, and especially in this age—the nature and extent of that self-consecration which is the Christian's duty and privilege—the stewardship of Christians in regard both to the use of property and to the power of exerting a personal influence on others — the state and prospects of those who know not God—the examples of holy and devoted men, especially contemporaries, who had acted in the very circumstances and in the discharge of the same duties to which his own readers were called; — these and others of kindred nature were topics to which he often recurred, and on which he dwelt with great earnestness and effect.

"If the Panoplist has any merit," was his own language, "it consists in the aid which our pages impart to the various plans of Christian benevolence now in operation. The noblest aim to which it aspires, is that of being an auxiliary in the great cause which now unites the hearts and hands of so many active and pious men throughout the world." * "The American people, if not blind to their own permanent interests, and stupidly ignorant of their own advantages, can perform wonders in the accomplishment of the grandest designs which ever claimed the attention or employed the activity of mortals; designs of no less magnitude than the establishment of schools, churches, and the regular ministration of divine ordinances, in all the destitute places of our own country; the distribution of the Bible, and the support of missionaries to preach its doctrines, in every part of the globe; the alleviation of human suffering of every kind, wherever men are found;—in a word, the entire subjugation of the world to Christ, and of course the eternal salvation of unnumbered millions in all future generations. Who does not give thanks to God for the opportunity to exert even the humblest agency in promoting so blessed a consummation?" † "If all professed Christians were truly what they profess to be, and if all real Christians were plainly distinguished by that grand characteristic of the Savior, that he *went about doing good*, how soon would the face of the world be changed; how glorious would be the alteration; how divine the effects. Every individual is answerable to his conscience, and to God the judge of all, if he does not contribute his full proportion towards bringing about so immense a good. Time is rolling on; the active years of those now in their prime are fast spending; health is impaired in ten thousand instances, and life is lost in ten thousand more; opportunities are passing by, never to return; and yet how slowly does the good cause advance, compared with the wishes of Christians and the exigencies of mankind. What enterprizes must be undertaken, what labor performed, what perseverance exhibited, what an amazing combination organized, and what extended operations carried on, before the world shall be evangelized. Every year of delay in this work ought to be a year of deep regret." ‡

"The most noble of sciences, *the science of doing good*, is too little studied. If it were better understood and made the subject of daily contemplation, the way would be prepared for a grander display of benevolence on a large scale, than the world has ever yet seen. The ultimate object aimed at would indeed be the same which has been pursued by the truly virtuous in every age; but a peculiar sublimity would mark the enterprizes in which Christians of every nation and every language should engage with enlightened minds and united efforts; and a peculiar glory would crown these enterprizes. The employment of doing good—of aiming directly, by prompt and vigorous action, to promote the permanent good of others — should be made a part of the regular business of every Christian. It should be reduced to a system, and have a large share of time and property assigned to it. This time and property should be sacredly devoted to God, and employed in the best practicable way; not squandered on doubtful or useless projects, nor hoarded up for future occasions, which may never arrive; but wisely apportioned to purposes of unquestionable utility, of great importance, and pressing urgency." *

---

* Panoplist, Vol. xiii. Preface. † Ib. Vol. ii. Preface. ‡ Ib. p. 3.

"The day will arrive when one exertion put forth with a sincere desire to benefit the souls of men, will be of more value to the person who made it, and will be more highly appreciated by the intelligent universe, than all the riches that avarice ever desired, and all the power for which ambition ever toiled." †

"This world, especially at the present period, affords as encouraging a place for doing good, as the sublimest imagination can create, or the most benevolent heart desire." ‡

It was such thoughts as these that flowed most spontaneously from the pen of Mr. Evarts, whenever circumstances led him to take a general view of the objects and bearings of the work under his care. And it was his constant endeavor in every number, by scriptural argument and affectionate appeal, by exhibiting the state of the world and the progress of every good work, and by reference to the example of the wise and good, to commend such thoughts to the understandings and the hearts of his Christian readers,—to diffuse them in active power like leaven through the churches.

In its relations especially to this paramount object, he regarded with deep interest the Christian education of children. The following extracts from an Essay "On educating Children for the Present Times," which he published in the Panoplist, show the elevation of his views and the reach of thought with which he was wont to contemplate whatever nearly concerned the great interests of humanity:

---

* Panoplist, vol. xiii. p. 1. † Ib. vol. xiv. Preface. ‡ Ib. vol. xv. Preface.

"Children should be educated in a course of self-denial. Under this head I shall not be understood to countenance voluntary austerities and mortifications, suffered for the sake of promoting self-righteousness and pride, but to insist upon a habit of surrendering personal enjoyments and gratifications, whenever an enlightened conscience pronounces the surrender to be necessary. Everything which would retard the pilgrim in his journey to the heavenly rest, or limit the extent of his labors for his Savior, should be cheerfully relinquished. Too many professed Christians have deceived *themselves*, rather than others, by a mere profession. They have made the sum of religion to consist in a round of formal duties, while they remained under the entire dominion of selfishness and worldly passions. Possibly they have made long prayers, and have been able to converse tolerably well on religion, while deaf to the calls of charity, and regardless of the great interests of truth and godliness. *Where there is no self-denial, there can be no real virtue.* The whole of a child's education should impress upon him this fundamental truth; and he should be accustomed from his earliest years to make personal sacrifices for the good of others. He should feel that he lives not for himself, but for mankind. If disposed to pervert this maxim, and to neglect the small things within his reach, under pretence of doing good on a larger scale, he can be called back from his reverie by the reflection, that it requires no self-denial to do good on a large scale, in imagination only; while to discharge with fidelity the every-day duties of life requires great steadiness of principle, and may prove the existence of great love to God and man. * * * Children should be educated in a course of habitual beneficence. Self-denial is preparatory to beneficence. The one furnishes the means of doing good, the other applies them. The great characteristic of our Savior while on earth was, that *he went about doing good.* It should be deeply impressed on the minds of the young, that this is the great thing for which intelligent beings were made; that by doing good, a resemblance of the glorious Creator is stamped upon the character; and that all other desirable possessions, without this, will ultimately prove of no value.

"A life of beneficence will be distinguished by two prominent traits, charity and activity. It may be useful to consider these traits separately.

"Charity should be taught systematically, both by precept and example. It should be considered as an indispensable part of instruction and of practice; just as really so, as truth, justice, or industry. It is as often commanded in the Scriptures, as any other duty whatever; it is not less necessary to the Christian than any other duty; it is most amiable in its aspect, most cheering in its tendency, most blessed in its effects. Charity, by which I here mean the gratuitous application of property and time to the relief of the temporal and spiritual wants of others, is a duty which, truth obliges me to say, has not been sufficiently understood or practised by any part of the Christian world. Many are now awakening to a perception of their duty; but the greater part, even of professors of religion, continue to sleep on. Yet God has taken abundant pains to instruct men in the nature and extent of charitable claims. If the Levitical law had been given on purpose to designate and enforce claims of this kind, it could not have been more express and particular than it is. The whole New Testament supports, in regard to all mankind, the great principles of beneficence which the law of Moses had urged upon the Israelites, throughout the code of their national polity. If a nation were to act unanimously on these principles, it would exhibit the highest degree of worldly prosperity, an universal freedom from poverty and want, and an universal practice of industry and economy on the one hand, with a constant and humble dependence on God and a perfect freedom from excess and intemperance on the other. Such an exhibition will yet be made by all the nations of the earth, in the happy period which is visibly approaching. That each religious parent may do all in his power to hasten the period alluded to, let him instruct his children that charity is to be performed with as much regularity, promptness and cheerfulness, as any other duty of life. They should set apart a weekly or monthly portion from their savings, or earnings, (as soon as they are able to save or earn anything,) for this purpose; and they should, if possible, be furnished with the opportunity of saving and earning, at an early age. They should see, in the cheerful countenances of their parents, the joy experienced in relieving want and mitigating distress. They should be taught to dwell with pleasure on the *many* invitations to charity, which are presented to the benevolent. No truly good object should they be allowed to consider as an intruder, though their means should not permit them to give aid except to a very few. The portion claimed for benevolent purposes they should see to be a valuable and important portion; not a mere trifle, utterly insignificant when compared with their father's income. They should be taught to value money principally as a means of communicating happiness; and for this purpose they should be encouraged to acquire, preserve and expend it. The young may easily be taught to practise charity, both by giving their money and spending their time for benevolent objects. It is not difficult to make them understand with what temper, and from a regard to whose authority, these duties are to be performed. The man who habituates his child to take pleasure in doing good, especially if God confers at the same time a *truly benevolent* disposition, does more for the temporal happiness of the child, than if he left him heir to millions, without an inclination to use his wealth for the benefit of mankind. Let it not be supposed, that I am urging upon all to give large sums in charity, or to teach their children to do so. That would be absurd and imposible. But all should devote an important portion of their means—a portion which cost them time, or labor, or some thing which they value. The widow's two mites teach more than could be fully detailed in a volume."

" Perhaps it will be said, that the course here recommended would exhaust the community by charitable donations. Far from it. If this course were universally pursued, the community would be enriched in a manner hitherto unexampled in the world. If all the poor exerted themselves to lay up money for charity, they would insensibly and before they were aware of it, emerge from poverty. They would never be found in a grog-shop, or at the gaming table. The way in which much of the money necessary to reform the world is to be procured, is by *saving*. More than fifty millions of dollars, which have been annually wasted by the people of the United States for these ten years past, might have been saved, without abridging one rational enjoyment; and this enormous sum might have been employed in charity, without diminishing the wealth of the country, or lessening the happiness of a single individual. It would indeed have increased the happiness of many millions. The time is coming when these truths will be felt; let children be taught to feel them now. The time is coming when the numberless millions now squandered in debauchery, excess, and especially in war, will no longer be perverted to fill this world with tears and blood, with agony and despair, and to people the world of perdition; let children be taught to act with a particular design to bring about that time as quick as possible."

" On the activity which ought to pervade the life of a Christian, surely little need be said Shall he sleep at his post at such a season as this? Shall he fold his hands, and idly gaze around in harvest time—the harvest time of the world? Shall he educate his children to be spectators, lifeless spectators, rather than actors in the wonderful events of the present day? Every talent ought now to be employed to the utmost. He that has the head to contrive, the tongue and the pen to persuade, or the hands to execute, should be on the alert, and make no compromise with ease and indolence. No habit of honestly acquiring property, of instructing the ignorant, of admonishing the vicious, should be suffered to subside. The wisdom of age and the ardor of youth should form a holy combination, and all the powers and faculties of the body and mind should be dedicated to the grand design of reforming mankind, by producing in each circle of influence these good effects; which, if produced in every circle, would form the great consummation so often mentioned."

" To piety, self-denial and beneficence, must be added courage. Bold must be the man, and in the highest degree resolute and persevering, who is completely fitted to be the most useful at the present day. In order to instil suitable courage into the minds of the young, nothing will avail without a paramount regard to the authority of God. In a mind where such a regard exists, it will be practicable to form a habit of disregarding the opinions and maxims of the world. The youth in our public seminaries of learning should be especially guarded on this head. They should, as far as possible, be made superior to any temptation which can be offered by a regard to the applauses or the votes of the people. It is indeed to be most deeply lamented, that in consequence of the depravity of man, the grand feature of an elective government should become the most universal and powerful means of corruption; and that the exertions of the wisest and the best of men should be so often limited, paralyzed, and crushed, by the corrupt influence of the weakest and the worst. Such, however, is the fact. The only remedy, so far as human means are referred to, is to form a combination of able, independent, upright men, who are perfectly willing to forego all popular honors, for the sake of promoting the present and eternal happiness of their fellow creatures. Let me not be supposed to sanction, under the name of courage, a proud, self-sufficient disregard of the feelings, or even of the prejudices or vices of the world. The courageous man may be as conciliating in his manners, as inoffensive in his deportment, affectionate and mild in his temper, as can possibly be desired by any one; but he may not yield to a temporizing policy; he may not surrender the great interests of virtue; he may not cease to defend them, for the sake of all the honors and rewards which the whole world could bestow."

"Parents are encouraged to educate their children religiously by the consideration, that they are thus ordinarily doing good on a more extensive scale, than in any other way. Christians should certainly do all the good in their power, and they should seek the means of doing good extensively and permanently. To all who have children the means are at hand. The good conferred upon mankind by giving the world a single well-educated, pious, public-spirited, self-denying young man or young woman, is incalculable. This subject is too often overlooked and disregarded. As domestic discipline and domestic enjoyments are removed from public view, and make no great figure in the common estimates of usefulness and influence, the fireside is too seldom considered as the grand nursery of piety, in which plants of righteousness shall be reared, and fitted to flourish and blossom and bear fruit forever. All Christians have it not in their power to preach the gospel, become pastors of churches, preside over seminaries of learning, or write for the improvement of others; but all have it in their power to make the family circle a scene of religious improvement; a little sanctuary, from which prayer and praise shall daily ascend to God; a school of virtue, in which immortal beings shall be trained up for glory."

The purity of the churches was an object for the promotion of which Mr. Evarts labored assiduously. The state of the churches in Boston and the vicinity has already been mentioned. He had not remained ignorant of these things till he visited Boston; yet, as is evident from his papers, he had formed no adequate conception of the magnitude of the evil, and of the dangers which threatened the churches. During his visit to Massachusetts, while the matter of the editorship was under consideration, he was at great pains to acquaint himself fully with this subject. He listened to the sermons of Unitarian ministers, and, after all that he had previously heard, was astonished at the extent of their departures from the Gospel. He examined their writings, and saw how error was inwrought into the fugitive literature of the metropolis, and how every occasion was seized to bring what he regarded as Christian truth and piety into contempt. The plan of establishing himself in Boston in the practice of his profession, led him to consider the reception that a man with his views of Christianity and of religious duty, would probably meet with. The result was disheartening in the extreme. To conceal his religious opinions, or to live any other than what he deemed a Christian life, was with him out of the question; and in such a state of the public mind, the hope of his success as a lawyer in Boston seemed almost equally so. Times are since changed.

It may well be supposed that a system so dominant, and as yet not dissevered from orthodox Congregationalism, must exert a deadly influence upon the churches, and Mr. Evarts was not slow to perceive the necessity of entire separation. His inquiries on the subject were prosecuted with great earnestness after his removal to Charlestown, and when he was able to command ampler means for forming a correct judgment on the various practical questions that came up. By the results of these inquiries, the course pursued in the Panoplist was conscientiously governed. His first great object was, to bring before the public mind, clearly and impressively, the neglected and misrepresented truths of the Gospel, in their relations especially to Christian character and duty. To exclude error, the surest way is to pre-occupy the mind and heart with truth. Next he labored, in connexion with a few friends, to bring evangelical Christians into their proper relations to each other. Although among the most ardent promoters of union among all who cherish the same essential faith and are actuated by the same spirit, he would never sacrifice truth to the claims of a spurious charity, or acquiesce in a factitious, delusive, deadly peace. He saw the necessity of a separation before even the real friends of evangelical religion could be brought to act together and efficiently in the labors of Christian philanthrophy.

In order to this, to expose the prevalent errors, to bring them into the open day, where they could be seen and known of all men, was the first duty. The publication of the "Improved version" of the New Testament, and of certain facts relating to Unitarianism in America, in Belsham's Life of Lindsey, furnished prominent occasions for this exposure. The review of the latter in the Panoplist, gave rise to a controversy, in which the late Dr. Channing took a prominent part. Prevalent errors thus became known; the characteristics of Unitarianism were understood; its incompatibility with evangelical religion was appreciated and felt. Those who cherished the faith of their fathers, were led to see the necessity of separation. Ministers of the Gospel could no longer exchange pulpits with known supporters of the latitudinarian faith. The line was drawn between truth and error; between those who were obedient to the one and the abettors of the other; between the churches in which the orthodox doctrine of Christ and him crucified was preached, and those that had received "another Gospel."

True, the change was not effected without a struggle; nor without ill-will; nor without severe denunciations against those who were most active in promoting it. No such separation ever took place without the interruption, to a greater or less extent, of mutual good feeling; and there is always occasion that seems plausible to the superficial, and to the multitude who are *naturally* prejudiced against religious truth, for charging men desirous of separation in such cases, with a want of liberality and charity; with disturbing the peace of the churches; with interrupting the harmony of the community, and even breaking in upon the enjoyments of fireside peace. In view of all these incidental evils, his writings, through the whole controversy, were prepared and revised with most careful regard to the requisitions of justice and real charity. He was sometimes spoken of, for the course that he pursued, with sufficient harshness. His motives were impeached; his character assailed; and acts and feelings ascribed to him that his soul abhorred. His accusers did not know him. Never was he moved to publish a rash or ill-considered reply. At the outset of his editorial life he had said:

"We could wish our pages to be so conducted, as that, were it possible for us to revise them a century hence, when all the passions of the moment shall have been forgotten, (however our knowledge may have been increased or our views rectified,) we should not have occasion to blush for the spirit manifested, or to expunge a sentence on account of its unchristian tendency. And though so complete a victory over passion, provocation and infirmity, is rather to be desired than expected, we shall anxiously strive to obtain it."*

After the experience of three years, he adverted to this particular topic in the following terms:

"Among the duties which devolve on writers for religious publications, those which relate to the treatment of adversaries are probably the most difficult. As we have never yet learnt from Scripture, experience, or observation, that all the different schemes of religion have an equal claim to be treated with deference and respect, we cannot hesitate to believe, that many pernicious errors actually exist in this country; errors which materially affect the very foundations of Christian doctrine; errors which, if cordially embraced, must prove fatal to the souls of men. Nor can we hesitate to believe, that these errors are zealously propagated from the press and the pulpit; and that, in some instances, men set apart as the guides of their fellow sinners in the way to heaven, lead them in the downward road to perdition. How are writers and preachers of this class to be treated? is the question. The rules which have appeared to us most important, and altogether defensible, are briefly as follows:

"First; it should be regarded as a fundamental canon, not to judge more unfavorably of any religious doctrine, than the Scriptures authorize and require us to judge. We allow no human authority in matters of faith. What the word of God condemns, it is the duty of Christians to condemn; but nothing more. We are no advocates for drawing the bonds of fellowship closer than God has drawn them; nor for inventing stricter rules of conduct than He has given. In construing the Scriptures, and searching after their genuine meaning, the utmost candor, fairness and reverence are to be exhibited; but when that meaning is satisfactorily ascertained, it is too serious a thing to be yielded out of complaisance, or concealed from view for fear of reproach and obloquy. It is to be avowed, proclaimed and defended, with all possible zeal.

"Secondly; in controversies with the enemies of the truth, the law of love is never to be transgressed. Christ has made it the duty of his followers to love all men. A real and earnest desire of the present and future good of an opponent is perfectly consistent with the persuasion that he is in extreme error, and in the way to ruin. Indeed, the fact that any human being is in such error, *ought* to awake a desire that he may be delivered from it, and will uniformly do so, in hearts under the permanent influence of religion. To ascertain whether a writer is really possessed of this benevolent regard to his adversaries, whom he apprehends, at the same time, to be the adversaries of the truth, let him answer to his own satisfaction the following questions. If the person whom I am now particularly opposing were my brother; had we been educated together in a father's house; or were he a son, whose salvation had been near my heart ever since his birth; should I not soften the expressions which offer themselves to my pen? If I answer in the affirmative, is it because, in the case supposed, my natural affection is stronger, than, in the real case, my benevolent regard to an immortal being? Should I be able to read what I am writing to my opponent in private, without feeling the slightest disposition to anger on the one hand, or the slightest degree of compunction on the other? If not; Why? Am I able to say, with a solemn reference to God, the Judge of all, and to the day of final retribution, *This page was written in love to mankind?*

---

* Panoplist, vol. 6, p. 5.

If all writers would faithfully pursue inquiries of this kind, it is manifest that the race of Warburtons and Belshams would soon become extinct."*

At the end of eleven years, when the warmth of the conflict was over, and time had been afforded to review calmly all that had been written, in closing his duties as editor of the Panoplist, he speaks of this, the most difficult and painful part of his editorial labors, as follows:

"In reviewing our work, we have endeavored to place before the mind all the considerations which serve to explain or enforce the great responsibility of one who writes for the public. How much we are deceived as to our motives or our object, it is not in our own power, or that of any human tribunal, exactly to determine. We can declare, however, without the least reserve, that we have always intended to act, in reference to every thing published in our pages, with entire Christian integrity, so far as we have been able to judge of our motives. When the case required it, we have given great deliberation to the question whether we should publish; and whether the manner, as well as the matter, could be justified. Whenever facts have been stated, or opinions with respect to facts have been given, the most satisfactory evidence has been required. We know not that the Panoplist has ever been seriously assailed except by those who class themselves under the general denomination of Unitarians. By them, indeed, the most vehement charges have been made. Some of these charges have been refuted formally, and at length. For the consideration of others, we have had no time. In reference to all these charges, we are satisfied that an impartial judge would pronounce them without foundation.

In some instances, the facts which we had asserted, have been denied; but, in no instance, that we can recollect, has this denial been supported. We are certain that no case of intentional misrepresentation can be made out against us, because no such case has existed. In regard to those passages, in our various controversies with Unitarians, which were thought to bear hard upon individuals, we can aver, that they were written from considerations of a public nature, and not from any unkindness to the persons concerned, nor any wish to excite unpleasant feelings. In discharging what we deemed to be a serious duty, we always endeavored to take care, that no individual, and no party, should have just occasion to complain of our representations; and we are not convinced, that this care was ever insufficient, or ineffectual. Harsh and violent things have been said of our work and our motives; but we harbor no resentments, and pray that we and our opponents may view things as they really are, and as they will be viewed when every delusion shall cease, and unmixed truth shall be seen and acknowledged."

---

* Panoplist, vol. 9, pp. 2, 3.

"We should not have mentioned this subject, were it not for the plain obligation, which rests upon every writer, to retract former opinions or assertions, which he has found to be erroneous. At the close of this work, the public have a claim to know what we think of those passages which have been particularly obnoxious, and on which the lapse of years has enabled us to form a deliberate judgment. After the general declaration of upright motives which we have made, we would by no means intimate that we have ever thought ourselves exempt from the influence of passion and prejudice. To these causes of error we have doubtless been more or less exposed; but we have attempted to guard against them, and hope they have not operated to any very injurious extent.

"The present Editor has superintended the publication of the last eleven volumes. Much of the original matter was written by himself, and for nearly all the rest he avows the fullest responsibility."*

But his attention, as an editor, was by no means confined to subjects strictly religious. He took a lively interest in whatever affected the well being of his fellow men. His professional studies and pursuits in early manhood had given him habits in this respect that were kept up through life. He studied society, and all the relations of social, civil, and political life, in the spirit of the Hebrew prophets, in whose writings

Is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so.

According to his views of political economy, it was of little consequence whether the wealth of a community was represented by a few figures more or less, except as higher interests might be affected by it.

---

* Panoplist, vol. 16, p. iv.

It was in 1810, during the first year of his editorship, that he began to direct the public mind to the prevalence of *intemperance.* The Panoplist for October of that year contained an article from his pen, entitled "Arithmetic applied to Moral Purposes," which developes the principle of ten thousand essays and addresses on the subject, that have since been published. He had by some means learned pretty accurately the cost of the ardent spirit consumed in a country town in New England in one year.* It would puzzle a fiend, he remarks, to tell how this sum could promote worse purposes; and he proceeds to show what might be done with it in salutary expenditures,—such as social libraries, and libraries for ministers of the Gospel—the improvement of common schools, and of roads and bridges—the relief and encouragement of the poor and unfortunate—and the various purposes of Christian charity. The subject was resumed a few months after, for the purpose of exhibiting more in detail the various direct and indirect losses that are involved in the expenditure of a given sum for intoxicating drinks. So far as the economical view of the subject is concerned, what has since been published in so many forms is little else than the further developement and illustration of the principles exhibited in these essays.

In June, 1811, soon after the publication of the second of these articles, he was appointed, by the General Association of Massachusetts, on a committee "to co-operate with committees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and of the General Association of Connecticut, in devising measures which may have an influence in preventing some of the numerous and threatening mischiefs that are experienced throughout our country from the excessive and intemperate use of spirituous liquors." Of this Committee the Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., was chairman, and Mr. Evarts clerk. The Committee held several meetings and instituted extensive investigations, the results of which were reported to the Association the next year. Among the measures suggested in this report were, the formation of voluntary Associations, the employment of laborers without furnishing ardent spirits, and the collection and publication of facts; and it was suggested whether it might not be a duty entirely to abstain from the use of ardent spirits, "unless really and avowedly as a medicine." These proceedings led to the formation of the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance the next year,—a society which, if it did not effect all that was desired and expected, and even failed of seizing on the most efficient principle of reformation, was yet the means of incalculable good to the community, and will always deserve grateful mention among the agencies to which we owe the preservation of the public morals in their present healthful state. At the organization of this society, Mr. Evarts was chosen one of the counsellors. He continued to keep the subject before the public by means of the Panoplist, and always took an active part in all the subsequent movements for the promotion of the cause.

---

* The statement was ten thousand gallons, which cost the consumers ten thousand dollars, in a population of two thousand souls. It was not supposed to be a town distinguished beyond most others for this vice.

Other evils that afflict makind were investigated in the same spirit. Soon after he assumed the editorship, he commenced a series of articles "on Human Depravity," which furnished opportunity to discuss such subjects with great effect. Among the topics touched upon, war was one, constituting the subject of an entire paper. The following paragraph exhibits the train of thought:

> "War is generally, and justly, thought to be the greatest calamity which afflicts and desolates this miserable world. Nothing else presents such a terrible combination of crimes and miseries. Nothing else gives such a complete destruction to the social enjoyment, the pursuits, and the hopes of all those who come within the sphere of its immediate influence. No other employment comes so near uniting the character of a fiend with that of a beast of prey. No other calamity leaves behind such indelible marks of its malignant influence. Earthquakes and volcanoes, pestilence and famine, bring their peculiar evils; but a great consolation in these cases is, that the evils are not voluntarily inflicted by man upon his fellow-man and himself. In war, on the contrary, man is necessarily the guilty cause. It is almost too plain to be stated, that war can never exist without great and aggravated guilt. Yet with all the horrors and cruelties which attend its progress, and all the desolation and ruin which universally march in its train, war is, and ever has been, the favorite pursuit of man.

"The spirit which commanders admire in the soldiers under their direction, is at the farthest possible remove from a good, kind and benevolent disposition. It consists of a stupid contempt of death, a proud contempt of the enemy, a boastful reliance on their own strength, and several other ingredients equally at variance with Christianity. It is a spirit, not created by the eloquence of the leader, but natively existing, and always ready to be operated upon. Suppose an army to be wholly composed of such men as David Brainerd or Richard Baxter, I do not mean as to talents, but as to the state of moral feelings; let them all have the same humility, meekness, patient submission to injuries, the same love of truth and justice, the same concern for the salvation of souls, the same desire to lessen human misery, and to promote universal love and happiness, the same compassion for sinners, the same solemn views of death, and the same fear of God, which distinguished these eminent saints; and let their commander, a Marius, or a Cæsar, undertake to address them. How would he find access to their feelings? How would he make them understand his arguments? Or if we suppose one of the armies led by these scourges of mankind, to have been suddenly transformed, by a mighty Divine influence, into men of the character above described, how would their commander be surprised when he should next call them together. He would perceive that the accustomed topics of military eloquence had lost their effect. As he descanted on expected plunder, the slaughter of foes, vengeance for insults and indignities, the glory of successful valor, and other subjects of the same nature, his hearers, instead of shouting, "Long live our general," would view their employment with greater and greater abhorrence as the speech proceeded; and the speaker could not help observing, to his mortification and unspeakable regret, that the strings which had before vibrated to his touch, had now unaccountably lost their tension."

This was written in April, 1811. The Peace Societies have since made such views—views that have naturally occurred to individual Christians in every age—familiar to the public. Two years later, when the war expenses of the United States for the year amounted to forty millions, and those of Great Britain to four hundred and twenty millions of dollars, and when France had twelve hundred thousand men under arms, the subject was again taken up, in two articles on the expenses of war, and on the good use that might be made of the money thus expended. The amount of the estimate, for the Christian world in that most expensive year, was $3,235,000,000,—including the destruction of individual property and the loss of productive labor. The general view of the high purposes which that sum, otherwise employed, might accomplish, is shown in the following paragraphs:

"Let us imagine, then, that all the armed men in the Christian world, on the 10th of Sept. 1813, and all their attendants, and all their employers, had been suddenly changed in their moral character, and become so thoroughly transformed, as to *do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their God.* It is very clear, that hostilities would have immediately ceased; all the armies would have returned to their respective countries; and by the first of January 1814, those who had been engaged only in war and violence, would be ready to enter upon the useful and profitable labors of life.

Let us imagine further, that the people of all Christian nations were willing to make as great pecuniary sacrifices, *for a single year*, with a view to promote the temporal and eternal good of their fellow creatures, as they made the year preceding, in carrying on offensive and defensive war; and we shall find, that a *permanent fund* would be raised, which, at six per cent. interest, would produce $194,100,000, annually."

"I do not say, that it would be wise to raise such a fund; but only that such sacrifices as have been specified, *would* do it. It would certainly be wise however, for Christian nations to exert themselves on a grand scale, and in their national capacities, for the promulgation of the Gospel and the civilization of mankind."

"But to return: if. wars were to cease, never to be renewed by nations called Christian, and mankind were universally convinced of the fact, the avails of the present systems of taxation, after the single year above mentioned, might be almost wholly devoted to the extinguishment of the war debts, which now press upon many nations with enormous weight. To the same purpose might be applied whatever could be derived from the sale of the brass, the iron, the steel, &c. &c., which is now in various kinds of arms, but which might be converted to useful purposes. The materials of fortifications, which would be demolished, might be sold to be converted into dwelling houses; arsenals might be rented for commercial ware-houses; ships of war might be converted into ships of trade; and every war-like preparation might answer some valuable end, and contribute to the wealth and comfort of the public. The least valuable could be used for fuel, and thus the words of Scripture would be fulfilled by *burning the chariot with fire.* It is reasonable, that those walls which have been erected by the toils of ten or twenty successive generations, which have been moistened with the sweat and cemented with the blood of unhappy millions, should be made to alleviate the national burdens. There would be an immense saving of productive labor to every nation; so that, in these various ways, every national debt might be discharged in a few years."

"While this process was going on, the internal condition of every nation would be receiving great and unexampled improvements. Schools would be everywhere supported; the children of the poor would everywhere be educated; churches would everywhere be erected; the Sabbath would everywhere shine with a glorious effulgence, and, as often as it returned, would be a day of joy and salvation to assembled myriads. The writer of these reflections has been assured by a gentleman who travelled all over England about the year 1792, and again about twenty years afterwards, that the progress of internal improvement in that kingdom within twenty years is amazing, and vastly exceeds the increase of her external commerce. This statement may be depended on, as the gentleman travelled, in the first instance, to use his own expression, 'with a young, inquiring eye,' and, in the second, he went over the same ground with a particular view to make a comparison. If this is the fact, notwithstanding the pressure of external war, how much more rapid and extensive would be the progress in a time of profound peace, and when all the vast resources of the kingdom should be gradually withdrawn from their destination, as the public debt melted like snow under an April sun."

"As the liberated resources of every nation would abundantly suffice for every domestic improvement, and would meliorate the condition of the people in relation to temporal things and spiritual privileges, let us suppose the income from the permanent fund, raised by the saving of *one year's war expenses*, to be devoted solely to the promulgation of the Gospel among the heathen nations, and nations partly heathen. And surely it is not unreasonable, that men should make such a sacrifice for such an object. It is now more than eighteen hundred years since the hymn of the angels was heard in Bethlehem, *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.* The full import of this hymn will hereafter be understood by mankind. As to the past, men have always devoted the best of their resources, their wealth, their talents, to the arts of war. Every year since any nation has become nominally Christian, has seen the prime of everything devoted either to actual war, to a preparation for it, or to repair the breaches which war had made. It is time that men had found out that war is not the way to happiness; let them pursue a different plan; let them become faithful subjects of the Prince of peace, and use all their efforts to extend his dominion."

In regard to *slavery* his feelings were deeply enlisted; and especially while the Missouri Question was before Congress, he discussed the subject at length and with great earnestness. He had not only thought much of slavery, considered according to the theory of it; but he had observed its actual character and influences, and could speak with the more confidence and discrimination from having become personally acquainted with the system. Many slave-holders he numbered among his personal friends, and for many others he cherished feelings of the sincerest respect and confidence. He could recognize exalted worth as readily in South Carolina as in Massachusetts; and to indulge in indiscriminate tirades against all the members of a slaveholding community was equally abhorrent to his judgment and his feelings. The extracts from his articles on this subject, here inserted, will suffice to show his views and feelings in regard to American slavery and its removal, and in what temper he conducted the discussion. The subject was introduced by the following remarks:

"We invite the attention of our readers to a few remarks on the greatest question which will probably come before the assembled council of our nation during the present century. The declaration of war, tremendous as that evil is to immense multitudes, and disastrous as its consequences are to the community at large, is yet a very limited and temporary calamity, if compared with any measure which tends to perpetuate slavery, ignorance and vice, among a large class of our fellow-creatures and countless myriads of their descendants. That the permission of slavery in the new state of Missouri is such a measure, we do not assert, at the commencement of our observations. That this is believed to be its character by many judicious, dispassionate, candid men, who have no personal, private, or political interest in the question, is undeniable; and this is sufficient to warrant the discussion. Besides, the subject involves questions of national morality;—questions on which our character as a just, magnanimous, humane and Christian people, will much depend. On such questions, it is the right and the duty of every man to express his thoughts boldly, though temperately, and with none but kind feelings towards those, who soberly and conscientiously differ from him."

"Let us here say, to those of our southern brethren who may cast their eyes on these pages, that we would by no means countenance the habit of bringing local prejudices to bear upon discussions like the present. Much less would we tolerate reproachful language, as used against the southern states, on account of the mere existence of slavery there. On the contrary, the whole business ought to be conducted with an enlarged reference to the permanent good of the whole union, and with particular reference to the permanent security of the southern people, and the gradual improvement of the condition of the black population. So far as local considerations should have any weight, they should constrain the assembled representatives of the people, and every writer and speaker on the subject, to consult with peculiar tenderness and solicitude, the great interests of those parts of our country, where slavery now exists. This may be done with little apprehension; for, unless we are entirely deceived, the great interest of the whole union will be best promoted, in reference to this subject, by the very measures, which will exert a permanently salutary influence on the southern states."

"It may be well to premise here, that slavery is universally admitted to be, as Judge Washington has well expressed it, *an inherent vice* in any community, where it exists. We should not wish to use stronger language concerning it, than has been used by Mr. Jefferson, himself a native and inhabitant of a slave-holding state, and the possessor of numerous slaves. Few abler arguments have been made, and few more eloquent appeals been delivered, in behalf of the blacks of our southern country, than were heard in the Legislature of South Carolina, about a year since, from one of the Charleston members. There are, in the slave-holding states, gentlemen of great worth and respectability, whose hearts are deeply engaged in the design of mitigating the evils of slavery, and in preparing the way for its gradual abolition. May the blessing of the Almighty rest upon them, give them wisdom, zeal, and perseverance, and crown their labors with success."

After touching upon a few other topics, the importance of the question is again adverted to:

"The people of this country do not seem to be sufficiently aware of the immense multitudes of persons, both freemen and slaves, whose condition is to be affected by the present measures. When we speak of the future population of our country, its greatness seems incredible, merely because the subject is new, and because the world has never before seen the rise of such an empire: at least, history has brought down to us no memorial of such an empire, as will probably exist, a century hence, between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic. No reasonable man can see why our whole country, on an average, should not be as populous as Massachusetts Proper now is. For ourselves, we believe it will be much more populous. Nor can any man assign a cause, why population should not advance for a hundred years to come, as it has done for a hundred years past. Should that be the case, in seventy years from this day, the people within the present limits of our country will amount to eighty millions; of whom about thirteen millions will be slaves, on the supposition that slaves increase in the same ratio as the whole population. The free colored people will, at that period, probably not be fewer than two millions,—making a black population of fifteen millions, exclusive of the slaves who may be unlawfully imported into the United States within the same period; and who, with their descendants, will probably amount to two millions, and may greatly surpass that number. It is quite within the limits of possibility, that the child now in his cradle may be president of the United States, when this amazing augmentation of our numbers shall have actually taken place; and the close of the present century may leave within our borders one hundred millions of human beings to enter upon the cares and duties of the next age. Ought this consideration to be disregarded, on so momentous a question as that of freedom and slavery? How cautious should be the legislator at the present day, lest his improvidence, or his compliance with selfish importunities, or his resort to temporary expediency, should justly expose his memory to the bitter reproaches of countless millions yet to be born?

The discussion is concluded with the following remarks:

"In some of the preceding remarks it has been intimated that slaves experience oppression at the hands of their masters. We very well know that our southern brethren feel acutely the least intimation of this sort. We cheerfully admit, that there are many humane, kind, and benevolent persons, among the possessors of slaves; that some consult not only the temporal, but the spiritual good of their slaves, with great solicitude; and that slaves, in the United States are better treated than in most other places where they are found. But would our southern brethren wish to be slaves themselves, even to the kindest and most benevolent masters within their knowledge? Would they consent that their children should be slaves, even to such masters? What then shall be said of the grasping miser, and the domestic tyrant? Does any man love his neighbor as himself, when he willingly intrusts his neighbor to the unrestrained will of such a master? Are we yet to learn that unlimited power is always abused by the depraved children of Adam? Are we required to believe, that a constant, all-pervading miracle is wrought in behalf of the undefended, secluded, unheeded descendants of Africa? We have no inclination to go into particulars; but we owe it to truth and the cause of humanity, to declare, that the worst accounts of slavery and its consequences, that have ever come to our knowledge, have either been the relations of facts so public as to be unquestionable, or have proceeded directly from the mouths of respectable slave-holders themselves. We heard such a slave-holder observe, with great deliberation and solemnity, that when the history of human crimes shall be recited to the astonished universe, slavery will form the most dreadful chapter, not excepting even war. This is a serious subject; and it will be found so in the end.

"Let us imagine an intelligent traveller, some fifty years hence, passing through the western country. In the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, he finds a vigorous, healthy, industrious population; a land of cultivated farms, thriving villages, and populous towns, inhabited by freemen only; an ample domain, tilled in small portions by the lords of the soil, abundant in its productions, and almost boundless in its resources. Every individual has the disposal of his own time, the employment of his own faculties; and is, in short, his own master. Here is no hereditary degradation; no exclusion from the rights of men and of citizens. Here is but one code of laws, enacted by the common voice, and administered for the common protection. The village school is open to every child; and every child learns to read his Bible. The village sanctuary is open to every immortal being; and not an individual is restrained from worshipping God whenever and wherever he thinks proper, according to the dictates of his own conscience. Here every man goes where he pleases, without suspicion, interrogation, or notice. All feel safe, for all are brethren.

"Our traveller crosses the Mississippi. Everything is changed. With indications of wealth, and power, and splendor, are intermixed tokens of poverty, indolence, and hopeless depression. One half of the people are masters, and the other half are slaves. The extensive plantation removes the opulent land-holder, with his sable retinue, from the inspection of the public, and from all responsibility to human laws. Half the people are at their birth excluded from all possibility of sharing in civil or political rights. Their time, their earnings, their faculties, their children, their bodies, and, in a very important sense, their souls too, are at the disposal of others. The spring of industry is broken. Confidence is extinguished. Labor is exacted by the dread of punishment alone. Two codes of law are established—one for freemen, the other for slaves. It is needless to say that slaves have no voice in making laws for their own government—laws barbarous in their enactments, inflicting heavy and disgraceful punishments for the slightest offences, executed in the most capricious manner, and giving very inadequate redress to the injured subject. Here half the children are not permitted to learn to read; for by reading they would acquire knowledge, and knowledge is power. Knowledge they must not possess; for they would re-print our Declaration of Independence in characters of blood. Of course they can never read the Bible, that choicest gift of the Almighty. Nor can they worship God, except at the will of a master. The gospel was designed for the poor especially; yet many of these people are debarred from hearing it, though they are poor indeed. Here suspicion, distrust, and fear poison all enjoyment. On the slightest alarm, the whole community is in trepidation, lest an *insurrection* should be commencing. When the bells give warning of fire, the vigorous part of the free population hasten, not to the fire-engines, but *to arms*, lest the occasion should be seized for rapine, murder, and rebellion. Every corporate town is busied, in proportion to its exposure, in devising precautions against so horrible a calamity as a servile war. In one place it is ordained that no slave shall be taught to read; and that any charitable individual who teaches a slave to read shall be liable to a disgraceful punishment: in another, that slaves shall not meet for public worship, except in certain specified cases: in a third, that no slave shall leave his master's inclosure, except with a written permit, which describes the time of absence, and the distance to which he may go: in a fourth, that no slave shall carry a cane in his hands, as he walks the street, on penalty of a public whipping: in a fifth, that no slave shall speak *disrespectfully* to any white man, on penalty of fifteen lashes, to be inflicted at the public jail.[*]

---

[*] These enactments are not the work of imagination: they have actually been established in some of our southern cities. What reason have we to suppose that they will not be re-enacted hereafter at St. Louis and St. Charles?

"Our traveller loses all patience. He expostulates with the people on their unequal laws, their heavy punishment of small offences, and the general severity of their slave-code. The only reply is, *Our blacks must be kept under, or we cannot live with them.* But, he rejoins, do you not lament your unhappy condition? Indeed we do; but our fathers entailed the curse of slavery upon us, and how can we escape from it? Some few benevolent persons are endeavoring to find a remedy for us; but they are regarded as visionary projectors. The general opinion is, that nothing can be done. The traveller returns to the land of freedom, with a thankful heart that there are communities in which equal rights, just laws, and universal industry secure the people from the frightful calamities which press upon every country filled with slaves.

"At the close of these remarks we cannot but express our serious apprehension, that if present measures should be persisted in, the issue of slavery on this continent will be more disastrous than has ever yet been imagined. Before the number of slaves in North America shall amount to twenty millions, how many plots, and murders, and massacres will have taken place? How much blood will have been shed to suppress embryo insurrections? How much vigilance will have been necessary to prevent them? How many barbarous enactments will have found their place in the slave codes? How much cruel suffering is to be endured by the unhappy blacks; how much agonizing fear by the more unhappy whites? And the time will probably arrive when some future Spartacus will muster his army of fugitives, or some future Touissaint enthrone himself in the affections of his brethren, as the commencement of an intestine convulsion unparalleled in the annals of this sinful world. The thoughtless may care nothing about these predictions. The prejudiced may refuse to look at these prospects. But enlightened legislators can have no excuse for neglecting the wonderful increase of the blacks in our country. It is miserable policy to leave the mischief untouched till it becomes unmanageable. Miracles are not to be expected in our behalf. If wise, judicious, public-spirited measures are not speedily adopted for the improvement of the blacks and the gradual abolition of slavery, our rulers must go upon the presumption that the bondage of Africans is to be unlimited and perpetual. But unlimited and perpetual it will not be. Things will not continue as they now are, in this respect, to the end of the world. Black men will at last be free; and if they are not freed by kindness, under the direction of wisdom, they will gain their liberty by violence, at the instigation of revenge. The duration of servitude on this continent will hardly equal, in future, the time during which it has existed hitherto. In the year 1620, the first slave ship entered the waters of Virginia. At the very time when the tree of liberty was planted on the hills of New England, the seeds of slavery were scattered in the plains of the south. Slavery will not continue here two centuries more—perhaps not one. By human agency it is to be decided, under the control of Divine Providence, whether the emancipation shall be peaceful, or demanded by force. In the first event it cannot be accomplished without great care, toil, anxiety, public spirit, and many sacrifices; in the latter, the prospect is too awful to be described by the imagination. There is every reason to fear that, according to the usual method of God's administration, the country must experience signal visitations of retributive justice. Unless the prayers of the pious, the labors of the philanthropic, the measures of genuine patriotism, and the restraining energies of the gospel, conspire to arrest the threatening calamity, its arrival is morally certain. That such a holy union as we have just adverted to may take place, and that it may comprise in its limits the north and the south, all the friends of God, of their country, and of Africa, is our sincere prayer and continual desire.

"We should do wrong to take leave of our readers without saying that there are some topics of consolation, even if the tide of slavery should roll westward without limits. A great effort has been made to prevent such a disastrous event; a powerful and united testimony has been borne, throughout a large part of our nation, against the extension of slavery; reasons have been urged, founded in the eternal principles of justice, and commending themselves to the dispassionate judgment, not less than to the feeling heart; the country is awake to the dangers of slavery, and, it may be hoped, will not fall into another deathlike slumber; all beneficent enterprises, at the present day, are prospered beyond the expectations of their friends; and a great and general sympathy is felt for the blacks, and a deep interest in all plans for the improvement of their condition. But most of all should we remember that God sometimes effectuates the deliverance of the oppressed and unfriended, in a manner previously never imagined by men; that He often averts evil consequences, when they seem, to human minds, unavoidable; and that even the wrath of man shall praise Him, and the remainder of wrath He is able to restrain."

Some months after the decision of the Missouri Question the subject of slavery was again adverted to, the necessity of discussion asserted, and the manner in which it should be carried on, described:

"We are convinced, after very serious deliberation, that the general subject of slavery and its consequences ought to be kept before the eyes of the American people. Unless this be done, no real improvement of the condition of the blacks in the United States is to be expected. Abuses never voluntarily cure themselves; nor do they quietly submit to exposure. But their very enormity sometimes provokes and compels exposure, and thus hastens a correction, and prepares the way for a final remedy."

"Our southern brethren are extremely irritable on the subject of slavery; and are apt to be indignant, if any thing is said respecting it by the people of the north. We could most gladly wish that there were such evidence of an enlightened, humane, and persevering attention to the improvement of the blacks in the southern regions of the United States, as would justify a profound silence on the part of the northern people. But during the forty-four years which have elapsed since our nation became independent, what has been done by the legislatures of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, to elevate the character of the blacks, to secure their rights, and to fit them to become ultimately entitled to all the privileges of men and citizens? Let the statement be fairly made, and let all the laws, favorable and adverse to the happiness of the slaves, be duly considered: it will then appear that the inhabitants of the non-slave-holding states ought not to remain silent, on the ground that the southern people know best what is to be done and that they are doing all they can for the benefit of the blacks. Unquestionably the people at the north would not be able to legislate wisely and judiciously, with respect to the slaves of Carolina. But they might safely adopt some general principles on the subject. They might be able to say positively that something ought to be done. They might without hazard assert the following positions as incontrovertible: viz. That slavery is an unnatural state of society;—that it brings with it innumerable and tremendous evils;—that the idea of a perpetuation of slavery in a country claiming to be free, and asserting that all men are "created equal," is a monstrous anomaly;—that the general countenance of such an idea would be supremely dishonorable to this country;—that all men in every part of the world ought to be taught to read the Bible;—that withholding the Bible from any class of men, under any pretence whatever, is unchristian, and a daring opposition to the will of the Most High;—that the blacks of our country ought to be immediately furnished with the means of religious instruction;—that the most persevering, public spirited, and unremitted exertions of the best and wisest members of the community should be applied to the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery;—that no time is to be lost in this business;—that the sooner the work is commenced the more rapid will be its progress, and the less arduous the conflict with prejudice, injustice and selfishness;—and that no dictate of religion, or of an enlightened conscience, will permit a benevolent man to sit down contented with the present state and prospects of the negro population of this country."

"What then is to be done? Let the people be informed of the nature and extent of the evil, without exaggeration and without concealment. Let the truth be kindly, though fearlessly told. Let the plans of the benevolent be submitted for consideration. Let the friends of Africa and her sons be active and vigilant. Let there be a rallying point in every slave-holding state, at which the friends of liberty and of equal rights shall meet for the expression of their opinions, and the promotion of the good cause. No doubt this process will excite much opposition on the part of the interested and the violent. But opposition must not deter from duty. How would the slave-trade have ever been abolished if Mr. Wilberforce and his friends had yielded to opposition the most powerful, the most determined, and the most malignant? The friends of truth and righteousness never yet achieved any great victory without a great struggle."

"We need hardly say, that this cause eminently deserves to be conducted with prudence and caution. No statements of facts should be made without good authority. Large classes and communities of men should not be judged by the excesses of a few. Candid allowances should be made for the effect of education and habit. Yet the fundamental principles of freedom should never be abandoned; the great and paramount and spiritual interests of immortal beings should never be deserted."

Extracts from the slave-code of Virginia, furnished by a correspondent in that State, were embodied in this article, with comments to show their bearing. Expressions of dissatisfaction at the South soon followed, and indeed in some places there was no small stir about it. It was said that the Methodist free blacks of Charleston were obliged to suspend the erection of a chapel in consequence. In reply to complaints and remonstrances, another article followed in November.

"We consider it indeed, one of the darkest signs, as to the future prospects of the slave-holding country, that a vast majority of slave-holders, as we fully believe, and of the most respectable slave-holders too, are unwilling that the subject of slavery should be publicly discussed in any manner, or in any place, by northern or by southern people. We ask the most candid of our southern friends, if this is not the case? And this being the case, how are any general measures to be adopted for the melioration of the condition of the blacks?"

"The time must come, when this subject shall be boldly discussed, no matter how wisely and temperately, but still boldly, even in the southern states, or the time of deliverance to the slave-holding country will never come. It would be better undoubtedly, that the southern people should take the lead in this discussion; but if they persevere in silence, is all the rest of the world bound to be silent also? There is, we admit, a time to be silent, as well as a time to speak; but are not all moral agents, who have the faculty of speaking or writing, to judge on their own responsibility, when this faculty is to be used? We believe that the southern people generally mistake their true interests in this momentous concern. The sooner they enter publicly and avowedly upon the work of reformation, the more easily will it be accomplished.

"If quietly going to sleep would cure the evil, this would doubtless be the easiest way; but a sluggish acquiescence in any abuse never yet removed it, especially in such an abuse as domestic slavery, and one so closely entwined with all the passions and interests of a populous community.

"But in what manner should the discussion be conducted?

This is indeed a grave question, and demands serious consideration. We answer generally that the object of the discussion should be to *do good*. The writers and speakers should feel the subject to be one which involves the interests of this vast continent through all future times. They should utterly discard all sectional prejudices; at least this should be their constant endeavor, though it is not reasonable to require of them entire exemption from one of the most common infirmities of men. They should feel the most unmingled kindness for those who are afflicted with slavery, if themselves are so happy as to be exempt from it. Especially should we at the north avoid, both in feeling and expression, everything like exultation in comparing our condition with that of our southern brethren, as though our own wisdom or goodness had made us to differ. We should avoid, also, the injustice of condemning a whole community for the faults of a part, or implying that the actual slave-holders are more unfavorably affected by their condition than other persons would be, if placed in the same circumstances. We should rejoice in every indication of good, be it ever so small; and should hope for success in every incipient work of benevolence, so far as a regard to the teachings of experience will warrant. We should not, however, from a wish to think and speak kindly of the existing state of things, or from a spurious benevolence, confound the eternal principles of right and wrong. We should not be so silly as to think that calling slavery a small evil, or a blessing, would make it so; or that all the injustice, and all the cruelty, and all the mental and moral degradation—which have invariably attended slavery in a large community, are at once to be cancelled, so that none of the guilt will remain, by simply alleging that slavery was entailed upon the present generation by their ancestors. The cause of truth should never be betrayed by seeming to admit, for a moment, that black men have no rights; or that, because they cannot be trusted with the possession of all their rights at once, they and their posterity shall be doomed to interminable servitude.

"Our southern friends do not deny that slavery is an evil; and that it originated in avarice, oppression and cruelty. But they say, the evil exists, and cannot be suddenly removed without producing a greater evil. Granted. It will not do, however, to acquiesce in the perpetual duration of slavery, because it cannot be removed suddenly. And here should the patriotic legislator of the south take his stand. He should insist upon making a declaration to the world, that the present system of holding human beings in bondage is to be excused only on the plea of necessity. He should declare, that every exertion ought to be made to abolish slavery; that the thought of entailing such a curse upon all future ages is abhorrent to the feelings of every virtuous man; that, in measures to be taken, with reference to this subject, the good of the blacks should receive the first consideration, as they are defenceless, and can have no voice in the decision; that certain limits should be immediately imposed upon the power of masters; and that provision should be made for gradually imparting to slaves everything, which is now withheld from them on the ground of necessity alone. *If* all the legislatures of the south were to set about convincing the world of their wish to benefit the blacks, and ultimately to redeem them from their present degradation, there is abundant reason to believe, that the peculiar blessing of God would attend every incipient effort. We hesitate not to say, that at the very beginning of this process, the equality which the gospel teaches is to be made the fundamental principle; that equality, we mean, which is implied in loving our neighbor as ourselves. Every master should feel, and be willing that his slaves should know that he feels the obligation of discharging this law of love to them. He should be willing that they should know that the present distinction between master and slave is factitious and unnatural; that it is kept up for their good, more than for his profit or gratification; that he should rejoice if it could be safely obliterated; and that by good conduct they may expect a material improvement of their condition."

These extracts are made more full, from a desire to place here an adequate record of the general views of Mr. Evarts upon the subject. They underwent no material change during the subsequent period of his life. It is hardly necessary to add, that with all the earnest convictions of his whole mind and soul upon the subject, he entirely disapproved—that he abhorred—the style and spirit with which some, before his death, had begun to conduct their anti-slavery warfare.

Besides his labors as editor of the Panoplist, Mr. Evarts was often called upon during this period to aid in ecclesiastical councils, to give advice on other occasions, to draft important documents, and perform other similar services for the churches in his vicinity. He took a lively interest in all local as well as general movements for the promotion of truth and righteousness. The church, the congregation or the city, where Providence had cast his lot, were fields of action which he never overlooked. He was an officer in the churches with which he was connected in New Haven and Boston;* and was also called to serve as a municipal officer in various capacities. To the various smaller associations immediately around him, designed to instruct, reform, or relieve the poor, the vicious, or the ignorant, or to aid the larger societies, he devoted much time and labor.

He was active in the organization of the Massachusetts Bible Society, and the Auxiliary of Middlesex county; and was one of the first Managers of the American Bible Society. In the Massachusetts Missionary Society, though organized before he entered on active life, he felt a deep interest, and was for many years its Treasurer and one of its Trustees. He was appointed one of the Committee of supplies of the Connecticut Education Society, formed in 1815. Of the American Education Society, which he ever regarded as of vital importance to the church, he was an early and active friend, and one of the Vice-Presidents. To the necessity of some special efforts like those since made to increase the number of well-qualified ministers of the Gospel, he directed the attention of the churches, in an essay published in the Panoplist as early as December, 1810. The following extract illustrates his habit of deriving from the far distant future cogent and impressive arguments for present action:

---

* He removed from Charlestown to Boston in the year 1816.

> " The candidates for the ministry," he remarks, " are at the present time scarcely numerous enough to supply the vacancies which are occurring in our old settlements. Beside these, churches and societies are daily forming in newly settled parts of the country. To furnish all these with ministers would require a large number of young men—a much larger number than can be produced, unless exertions, hitherto unexampled in this country, are speedily made. And if we regard the future and judge it by the past, we shall be convinced that within twenty years of this time many hundreds of additional laborers will be needed to supply the new demands which will arise from the increasing population of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York and Pennsylvania, not to proceed farther south, where the wants of the churches are still more imperious."

This, it will be noticed, was five years before the American Education Society was formed.

In regard to these and all kindred movements which have since become so firmly established among the churches, it would not be enough to say that they found in Mr. Evarts an early and constant friend, of enlarged views, sagacious, active, and liberal. The Secretary of the Prison Discipline Society attributes to him, more than to any other man, the origin and early success of that philanthropic enterprise.* He had studied the subject, and was ready at once for action, without listening to any array of facts and reasonings from another. So it was to a remarkable degree in regard to Tract Societies, Societies for the benefit of Seamen, Sabbath School Societies, and indeed whatever comes within the sphere of Christian philanthropy. The whole subject was a study with him from an early period. He would often speak of those prophecies which relate to the future extension and glory of the church, and of the state of things among men which is implied in their full accomplishment. With this state of purity and glory he would bring the present condition of the world—its habits, its social and political relations, its maxims and spirit, into comparison. Then would come up thoughts of the work to be done, the evils to be corrected, the knowledge to be diffused, and all the reformations to be brought about in order to the coming of that glorious day; and by a natural transition would follow the ways and means, the actual and prospective agencies in such a work. These were favorite contemplations, and whatever subject engaged his attention was disposed of clearly and methodically. Hence, when social and public evils and new spheres and plans of Christian beneficence were thought of, those who consulted him were often astonished to find the subject already familiar to his thoughts, his opinions formed, and his advice, in regard to particular measures, ready almost at the moment. There is something in the fact that, in regard to this his business, he had, like the merchant in his, formed habits of rapid combination and promptness in disposing of practical questions. But that is not all. He had studied these very questions beforehand; and when anything was suggested that he had not before thought of in the same light, he was at once able to understand its place and relations, and to discuss it

---

* " The Vice-President of this Society, whose death we most deeply feel, was a friend to this object before the Society was formed, or even contemplated, except, perhaps, by himself. His comprehensive mind, his deep research, and thorough

---

knowledge of the world in which we live, convinced Mr. Evarts, long before it had been proposed, that the ground now occupied by this Society was a field for observation and benevolent action, which must not be neglected. While the revered man of whom we speak, thus felt and reasoned, and gave the most substantial evidence of his approbation by his countenance, patronage, and a letter of credit which would have furnished Bibles for all the Prisons in the land, others, who might have esteemed themselves wiser than Mr. Evarts, looked on with indifference. The coolness, decision, heartfelt approbation, and letter of credit, above alluded to, written in the full strength of faith, and confidence of hope and affection, for the purpose of recommending a suitable agent to examine and supply destitute Prisons with the Bible, might have been, for aught we know, the *hinge* on which the very existence of this Society depended." [See 6th Rep. of Prison Dis. Soc. p. 5.]

intelligently. The consequence of this was that, upon all such subjects his conversation was full of the "seeds of things," and he was resorted to continually for advice and assistance in every good work. Whatever the enterprise was, relating to the establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom among men, his counsel was sought, and his suggestions were apt to have an important part in shaping it and securing its success.

How much of their early hold on the public mind, and how much in regard to the manner and spirit in which they have been prosecuted, such enterprises owe to his attention and advocacy, it would be difficult for any but those intimately associated with him at the time, to understand. So far as he had anything to do with them, every plan must be put upon its proper basis and exhibited in its true relations. The truth served all his purposes; for he could see it clearly, express it forcibly, and his purposes were honest. Distortion and exaggeration were equally abhorrent to his moral and to his literary tastes. His habits and success are a remarkable refutation of those who urge that rashness and indiscretion are to be expected, as a matter of course, in the character of a reformer, or at least of a pioneer in reform. The most inventive was not more prolific in suggestions; the most ardent did not surpass him in zeal, nor the most reckless in courage; nor had any reformer clearer views of the changes that Christianity demands and will effect in the relations of man to man, and people to people; but he was able to pursue a course that commended itself to every man's conscience in the sight of God, and which time would sanction.

But there was to him a far more engrossing theme than any of these. He had watched the progress of British missions to the heathen from an early period in his college life. The subject had been gradually attracting the attention of the churches, and it was an object with the Panoplist, from the beginning, to diffuse missionary intelligence. Into this department of his work he entered with peculiar pleasure. His heart was early moved by the labors of the London Missionary Society, the Moravian Brethren, and the Baptist Translators at Serampore; and the pages of his journal bore witness, not only in the selected intelligence, but in the tenor and spirit of many original articles, to the zeal with which he endeavored to awaken similar feelings in the hearts of others. A new field was opening to the churches. The horizon of Christian benevolence was extended. The more enterprising among Americans soon became inspired with a noble ambition to bear some part in the work, and considerable sums were raised and sent abroad, especially to Serampore. It is refreshing to see with what cordiality he and his friends were ready to co-operate with the devoted men at Serampore,—denominational differences not being suffered to check the free promptings of Christian sympathy and confidence.

It has already been mentioned that he wrote for the Panoplist, while editor, under many different signatures. The Reviews were also chiefly from his pen. Indeed, although he had able assistance, and many valuable articles were contributed by others, he was himself the author of a very large proportion, probably the greater part of the original matter of the volumes that he edited,—namely, from the sixth to the sixteenth, both inclusive. His own estimate of its influence, written some years after it was discontinued, with special reference to the Unitarian controversy, deserves to be copied here:

> "The Panoplist, however, published in Boston from 1805 to 1820, in sixteen volumes, should not be omitted here. Besides exerting an important influence in the establishment and patronage of Bible, Missionary, Tract and Education Societies; besides furnishing a channel for the communication of thoughts on the most interesting topics, to which the attention of the religious public was drawn; it rendered incalculable service to the cause of truth, by compelling Unitarians to leave the concealment by which they had so long been gaining influence, and in which lay the far greater proportion of their strength. The charge of such concealment was indeed most indignantly resented, though the witnesses adduced in support of it were distinguished Unitarians, and their testimony was perfectly explicit. It is still more remarkable, that these Unitarian witnesses were not publicly reprehended for having given their testimony, nor was their veracity called in question; while the Reviewers in the Panoplist were bitterly reproached for republishing their statements from pages written by a leading Unitarian, for the express purpose of giving an authentic history of American Unitarianism. It is a curious fact, that the Christian Examiner, which is far the most important Unitarian publication in the United States, ten years after the charge was made in the Panoplist, found occasion to repeat and confirm it. The disclosures, to which we have here referred, led the way to the contro-

versy of 1815, which called forth the talents of the late Dr. Worcester, so much to the advantage of the cause which he espoused, and of which he proved so able an advocate. We are among those who believe that all the controversies with Unitarians, since the name was known in this country, have accelerated the progress of correct sentiments; have given strength, union and consistency to the orthodox; and are now contributing, in their natural and predicted consequences, to the return of Boston and the vicinity to the cordial reception of those doctrines, and the exemplary practice of those duties, which so honorably distinguished the first settlers of New England. Believing all this, we cannot doubt that a publication which aided so essentially in the necessary developments, must have had an indispensable share in producing those great and happy effects which are now witnessed. Unless we are greatly mistaken, the Unitarians will agree with us in saying, that if any good is to be derived from the Theological Seminary in Andover; if true religion is promoted by the erection of new churches for orthodox assemblies in Boston; if the doctrines of the Reformation, as preached in these assemblies, are to be approved; if revivals of religion, as the orthodox understand the phrase, are to be desired; if the education of hundreds of ministers, and ultimately of thousands, under the fostering care of charitable institutions, is to bring down countless blessings upon our land; if the sending of the Gospel to the heathen, by Christians in America, is a good work, upon which the blessing of God may be expected:—in fine, if the whole system of religious instruction and charitable exertion, as sustained by the orthodox, is a blessing to mankind;—then must the Panoplist be allowed to have discharged an important service, as it promoted and defended all the measures which led to these results, and was the organ of many original suggestions respecting them."

It is safe to add, that in regard to the whole progress of events here referred to, no one was a more active and efficient laborer, no one a more safe or influential counsellor, and especially no one more fruitful in "original suggestions," than Mr. Evarts.

In 1821, his engagements in the missionary work rendering it impossible for him to bestow proper attention upon the editorship, the Panoplist was discontinued at the close of the sixteenth volume.

CHAPTER IV.

TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS. 1812—1821.

It was very soon after the commencement of his editorial labors, that Mr. Evarts had the happiness to record the organization of a Board for the promotion of missions from this country to the heathen.

It has been remarked that the thoughts which have given great men their influence and their fame have most often been conceived in early manhood. It is while the mind has the freshness and pliability of young and vigorous growth, and before it becomes hardened by surrounding influences and by habitual conformity to what is common or what is dominant, that goodness and greatness may be most often expected to develope themselves in new forms of loveliness and power. The Paradise Lost originated in the thought of a young scholar, the circle of whose private studies, in his own estimation, was yet incomplete; and the sublimest of Newton's discoveries were made before he was thirty. So new enterprizes of Christian benevolence seem to originate most generally with young men of that age; with those whom the awakening and enlightening Spirit finds mature enough to act with vigor and constancy, but not hardened and blinded by custom and time. It was among such that modern missions originated, both in England and in this country.

The proceedings of the young men at Williams College, with whom the movement that led to the organization of the American

Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions commenced, need not be here detailed. The names of Samuel J. Mills and his associates at that time, the devotion with which they cherished their purpose of engaging personally in foreign missions, their perseverance, and their becoming spirit of humility and of deference to their superiors in age and Christian experience, will not be forgotten by the American churches. Their history for two or three years after their purpose was formed and their mutual pledge given, is one that may always be dwelt upon with equal delight and profit. The first public movement in accordance with their wishes was nearly simultaneous with the removal of Mr. Evarts to Charlestown; and their plan received his cordial approbation before it was submitted to the consideration of any public body.

On the 26th of June, 1810, Rev. Drs. Worcester and Griffin and several other clergymen, being at Andover, met at the house of the Rev. Professor Stuart, and spent the afternoon in hearing the statements of the young men referred to, and in consultation and prayer respecting the subject thus brought before them. "In the evening," says a gentleman who was present, "I unexpectedly met Mr. Evarts, and had a very delightful interview with him. He had come from Boston to attend the General Association of Massachusetts, which was to meet the next day at Bradford. To my joy I found Mr. Evarts entirely familiar with the subject which the young men had presented during the afternoon. He seemed to understand the whole, and was unhesitating in the opinion that they were right, that the American churches should and would sustain them, and that an appeal to secure the necessary aid ought to be made without delay. My own mind was awed by the proposal, and was most favorably impressed by his opinions and views. They seemed bold; but the whole history of the enterprize since has shown them to have been just and correct." At Bradford, although not a member of the Association, Mr. Evarts was active and very influential, not only in procuring the unanimous vote in favor of establishing a Board of Foreign Missions, but in arranging the details of the organization, and in preparing the members to co-operate in the great work to which the Providence of God was thus calling the American churches. "I have ever regarded Jeremiah Evarts," says the gentleman last quoted, "as one of the *principal* founders* of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. And after the Board had been organized, and the question of funds came up, he was ready, and said at once that agents should be sent among the churches and auxiliaries formed, and that forthwith." Many hesitated, saying that the churches would not bear it. But the faith of Mr. Evarts was strong; he trusted in God that the church would be made ready for any measure that the exigency might demand. The Board held its first meeting and was organized at Farmington, Connecticut, on the 5th of September following.

The Panoplist was from the first the medium through which the Board addressed the Christian public, and was made exceedingly efficient in the promotion of its objects. Mr. Evarts labored in various ways to bring the state and claims of the heathen before the churches. Besides publishing liberal extracts from the reports of English missionaries accompanied with remarks, he wrote reviews of several works on missions, and various addresses and appeals, in a spirit well calculated to awaken and convince. The rapidity with which this project, so new, and deemed by many so visionary, gained favor and support, proved that these labors were not without effect.

---

* Among those who were most prominent in this happy movement, and who with Mr. Evarts have already entered into their rest, were the Rev. Drs. Worcester, Spring, and Griffin. Dr. Worcester, in a letter addressed to Mr. Evarts a few weeks before his death, states the circumstances in which the plan of the Board originated as follows:

"'The day of small things' is in fresh remembrance. On the 25th of June, 1810, serious deliberation, attended with fervent prayer, was held at Andover, relative to the burning desire of three or four theological students there, to be employed as missionaries to the heathen. The result was, to refer the momentous question to the General Association of Massachusetts. The next day Dr. Spring took a seat in my chaise, and rode with me to Bradford, where the General Association was to convene. In the conversation on the way the *first idea*, I believe, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was suggested;—the form, the number of members, and the name were proposed. On the 27th, the question came before the Association, and the report of the Committee, which was adopted by that body, was the substance of the result of the conversation in the chaise.

"On the 5th of the ensuing September, the first meeting of the Commissioners was held, and the Board was organized.

"But what individual, who took a part in those inchoative deliberations and proceedings, had any adequate anticipations of the magnitude and importance to which, in ten years, they would grow? American Christians had never combined in any great enterprize or plan for spreading the knowledge of Christ, or advancing his kingdom; had never sent, from these shores, a single missionary with the message of heavenly mercy to any portion of the widely extended pagan world, lying in darkness and in wickedness, without God, and without hope. Some scattered and transient efforts had indeed been made, for the benefit of some of the native tribes of the American forests; but without any general union, or any expansive or systematized plan of operations. In these respects, there was no experience, no example; all was untried, all to be begun. What disposition would be found in the community, in regard to the great object, was problematical."

At the annual meeting in 1811, Mr. Evarts was elected Treasurer, and in 1812 he was made a member of the Board and of the Prudential Committee. The first named office he held for ten years; the two latter till his death. From the time of his appointment as Treasurer he was actively concerned in all the plans and labors of Board and of the Committee, both for obtaining the necessary funds and for enlarging and giving vigor to its operations abroad. Into his office he carried all that careful attention to business and that minute accuracy, for which he was always so much distinguished. The value of these habits in managing the affairs of an institution so novel, and to which so many were ready to find grounds for objection, may readily be conceived. Not only were his integrity and faithfulness to his trust above suspicion, but his character for accuracy in all the details of his office commanded universal confidence. He appreciated as he ought a good name in the management of a public religious charity; and during all his subsequent life, was accustomed to speak with humble thankfulness of the confidence which the Christian community reposed in him, and of the fact that, by Divine assistance, he and his associates had been enabled to conduct the concerns of the Board, from its beginning onward through periods of inexperience and embarrassment, in such a manner as to obtain the uniform and decided approbation of its patrons.

From his first connection with the Board his labors were very far from being confined to its Treasury alone. The Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., was corresponding Secretary; and upon these two men devolved not only the executive business of the Board, but, more than on any other individuals, the duty of giving its operations their form and direction, and of suggesting and maturing its plans. They were often together; devoted many a long evening, often protracted far into the night, to the consideration of the important questions that were continually coming up, and in the decision of which thay had no light from experience to guide them.* The correspondence of Mr. Evarts with the missionaries, far from being limited to the subjects indicated by his official relation to them, embraced all the great topics in which the parties, as laborers together for the promotion of truth and righteousness among the heathen, felt a common interest. Upon him, also, devolved often the preparation of appeals to the public on behalf of the Board, and other important documents. Addresses to the Christian Public were prepared and published in 1811, 1812, and 1813, by Rev. Drs. Morse and Worcester and Mr. Evarts as a committee. They were intended to make known more extensively and fully the objects of the Board, its plans, and its claims on the co-operation of the religious public. The latter half of that for 1811, and the whole of those for 1812 and 1813 were from the pen of Mr. Evarts. These papers are models, which all engaged in promoting objects of Christian benevolence, would do well to study and to imitate. They aim at permanent results; and are elevated, in the topics introduced, and in the whole texture of thought and style, far above all the arts that are too often resorted to for immediate effect. The following paragraphs will serve as a specimen.

After mentioning the two great departments of contemplated labor, preaching and the translation of the Bible, the address of 1812 proceeds:—

> "These objects are *great*. Every thing which has a direct tendency to promote the salvation of immortal souls is great beyond the power of language to express, or imagination to conceive. Who shall describe the happiness to be enjoyed by a single redeemed sinner during a blessed eternity? or the miseries, the unutterable and never ending horrors, escaped in consequence of being made wise unto salvation? Who shall adequately declare the magnitude of an attempt to evangelize whole nations, and ultimately to renovate a world; an attempt to disenthral the slaves of Satan, and bring them into the glorious liberty of the sons of God; an attempt to diffuse peace and joy throughout the abodes of men, and to people the regions of immortal life with redeemed and sanctified spirits? In an attempt thus noble and sublime does every man engage, who aids in sending the heralds of salvation to the heathen, and in putting the word of truth into their hands.

---

* After his removal to Boston, his office—for several years the only office in the city for business of the Board,—was in his own house, in Pinckney-street.

"The objects are *extensive*. They admit, they *require*, the labors of multitudes. The glorious employment of being fellow laborers in the cause of God, is an employment in which all who are so inclined, may at all times engage But the support of missions, and the publication of the Scriptures, in all nations, are enterprises in which the efforts of multitudes can be united with peculiar facility. Christians in both hemispheres, and of every denomination, can direct their exertions to produce one result,—a result of the highest conceivable importance. Combined efforts, whether of a good or evil character, are incomparably more powerful than single efforts can be. How delightful, how enrapturing the sight, to behold good men of every rank and condition, in all parts of the world, uniting in one vast labor of love."

"It is not only practicable for multitudes to unite in the great purpose of evangelizing the world, but such a union is absolutely necessary, in order to bring about this event in the shortest time. All the power and influence of the whole Christian world must be put in requisition, during the course of those beneficent labors which will precede the millennium. What expenses, what privations and sacrifices must be incurred, before six hundred millions of heathens can read the word of God in their own languages, and possess it in their own families; and before preachers can be furnished to direct this countless host into the path of life! The utmost exertion of every Christian now living, so far as his other duties will permit, is required in this glorious service. How boundless must be the field of labor which admits, and will continue to admit, the labors of all benevolent persons, in every region of the habitable globe!

"But the most animating consideration still remains. These objects are *attainable*. To deny the practicability and usefulness of missions and translations of the Scriptures, would manifest a total ignorance of the subject, or a deep hostility to the progress of Christianity. Twenty years ago, objections to these extrardinary efforts might have been formed much more plausibly than at present. Happily for the world, such objections did not then stifle those beneficent attempts which have already given the Bible to nations in the heart of Asia, in their own languages. Whether Providence shall bless the efforts of this Board, it is not in the power of man to determine. Let us wait with humility and submission. But that the objects in view will be attained, and by human instruments too, will not be doubted by those who expect the final prevalence of true religion over error and sin. If the faith of Christians in America should be tried at the outset, it is no more than has frequently been experienced by Christians in every age. Such trials have often preceded the most signal success, and far from disheartening, should stimulate to more animated and faithful labors.

"It is an obvious reflection, and a pretty common one, that Christians of the present generation are greatly favored. While their eyes have seen most astonishing and unparalleled displays of human wickedness, they have also beheld innumerable trophies of divine grace. From nations betrayed, enslaved, weltering in their blood, and shrouded in a starless night of infidelity and profligacy, their attention has been turned with transport to the light which has encircled the dwellings of the faithful, and to the rising glories of the Sun of Righteousness. Their ears, for a long time stunned by the outcries, blasphemies, and unutterable confusion of a wicked world suffering the vengeance of God from the hands of cruel men, have found a happy relief in hearing the glad sounds of salvation reverberating through heathen lands, and in listening to the songs of converted idolaters, soon to be exchanged for the songs of the blessed. Already they hear, or seem to hear, the commencement of that celestial hymn, *Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee;* a hymn in which all the tribes and nations will hereafter unite with joy unspeakable, and which will be re-echoed from the realms of immortality in one boundless chorus of rapture and praise."

"To be silent and inactive spectators of these animating scenes, if that only were permitted, would be a grand felicity. But Christians need not be silent and inactive spectators. Indeed, they ought not; they must not. They are now favored with opportunities of promoting the cause of Christ, not enjoyed by preceding generations. No age since that of the Apostles has afforded so great encouragement to engage with zeal and activity in the best of all causes, as the present day affords. How would the saints of former times, the Baxters, the Beveridges, the Wattses, the Edwardses, have rejoiced to see this day! They looked forward to it, and to the more delightful scenes still future, with joyful anticipations. How would they have exulted to join in its employments, and mingle their labors and prayers with those of the great multitudes, who now incessantly labor and pray for the universal establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom!

It is now generally seen and felt, by those who have any claim to be considered as proper judges, that Christianity is the only remedy for the disorders and miseries of this world, as well as the only foundation of hope for the world to come. No other agent will ever control the violent passions of men; and without the true religion, all attempts to meliorate the condition of mankind will prove as illusory as a feverish dream. The genuine patriot, therefore, and the genuine philanthropist, must labor, so far as they value the prosperity of their country and the happiness of the human race, to diffuse the knowledge and the influence of Christianity, at home and abroad. Thus will they labor most effectually to put a final period to oppression and slavery, to perfidy and war, and to all the train of evils which falsehood, ambition, and cruelty have so profusely scattered through the world. Infidelity seems abashed, and in the attitude of retiring from every place where her hideous form and features can be compared with the symmetry and beauty of religion. She seeks concealment and obscurity, and is half ashamed of her votaries, who, in their turn, are cordially ashamed of her. Over infidelity and every abuse of religion the Captain of our Salvation will triumph. Wise are they who enlist under his banner, fight his battles, and share in the joys of his victory!

"While soliciting the prayers of the pious, and the pecuniary contributions of all who are able and willing to contribute, it behooves us explicitly to disclaim any desire to profit by mere appeals to the passions. We trust the addresses and other public papers of the Board, have never partaken of this character. Convinced that the work of evangelizing mankind is the noblest work in which men ever engaged, that the encouragements to prosecute it are at all times abundant, and that its completion is certain, nothing more can at any time be needed to interest the hearts of Christians in it, than to open a promising field of labor.

"At the present time, the call for renewed and increased exertion is so loud, that it has been heard and obeyed by thousands in different parts of the world. The friend and patron of missions, far from acting by the blind impulse of passion, is supported by the plainest dictates of reason, the decisive experience of ages, and the infallible declarations of Scripture. He who embarks in such a cause, and whose heart approves the conclusions of his reason, will not easily relinquish the object of his hopes and prayers.

"It is worthy of particular notice, that there has been a uniform progress, for the last twenty years, in the number, magnitude, and success of the attempts to preach the Gospel, and to impart the Scriptures to the ignorant and destitute, both in Christian and heathen lands. God grant that this progress may continue and increase; and that those who offer, and all who read this address, may have some humble share in promoting a cause which aims directly and supremely at the glory of God, and the salvation of the whole human race."

The following passages are from the Address of 1813:

"In behalf of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the subscribers, a committee for the purpose, beg leave to solicit the attention of the Christian public to the cause in which the Board is engaged, and for the promotion of which it was originally instituted, and has since been incorporated. We are not backward to state, at the commencement of this address, that we shall lay before the reader, with great satisfaction, some of the facts and reasons on which our attachment to this cause is founded, and which, we are sure, will not fail to commend themselves to every enlightened conscience, and to make an impression on every pious heart. The cause itself is transcendently glorious, and deserving of the warmest approbation of all men, however imperfectly or feebly we may state its claims. To doubt, or hesitate, in regard to the urgency of these claims, and the duty of keeping them habitually in view, would be equally repugnant to our feelings, and dishonorable to our profession as Christians. Can it be a matter of doubt, or of indifference, to any man who has the Scriptures in his hands, and has profited by perusing them, whether Christianity is to become, at some future day, the religion of all mankind?—whether its transforming power is universally to influence the hearts and the lives of men?—whether the word of God is to be read, understood, and obeyed, by the nations now sunk in idolatry and ignorance?—whether this grand consummation is to be effected by the means which men are voluntarily to supply?—or whether there is an imperious necessity that Christians should zealously co-operate in this great work of the Lord?

"The object of the Board is *one*—the promulgation of Christianity among the heathen. The means by which this object is designed to be effected, are of two kinds;—the publication and distribution of the Scriptures in the different languages; and the support of faithful missionaries to explain, exemplify, and impress on the mind, the great truths which the Scriptures contain.

"In regard to the distribution of the Scriptures, the Board is in fact, though not in name, a Foreign Bible Society; and, under this aspect, we earnestly request that its advantages may be considered by all who would joyfully place the Bible in the hands of pagans. Confined in its operations to no part of the globe in exclusion of other parts, the Board can extend the sovereign balm wherever there are spiritual maladies to be healed; enjoying the benefit of established plans of correspondence and co-operation, the result of its proceedings can be more prompt than could otherwise be expected; and having its attention long fixed on the most promising fields of exertion, its agents will acquire a facility of action, which can never be applied to single, insulated, and sudden efforts. Through the instrumentality of the Board, every charitable person, however retired or obscure, has it in his power to send the Bible to those very heathens, than whom none of the human race can need it more, and on whom there are peculiar encouragements to bestow it. A known, regular, uninterrupted channel will be kept open, (with the blessing of Providence,) through which the streams of American beneficence may flow into the centre of the pagan world, and contribute to fertilize regions which have long been dreary and barren of all moral good. And shall not these streams increase, till they form a mighty river, flowing with a steady and resistless current, and bearing on its bosom the immortal hopes of restored Jews, and the imperishable riches of converted Gentiles? Will not many of our countrymen esteem it a high privilege, that their contributions, at whatever season bestowed, may, in a few months and without care or trouble to themselves, be so applied, even in the remote eastern hemisphere, as to commence a series of good effects which shall never end, and the number and magnitude of which no human powers can calculate? A single Bible given to a Hindoo or a Ceylonese, may be the means of enlightening a family, of arousing the attention of a neighborhood, or of withdrawing a multitude from idolatry, leading them to procure the Scriptures for themselves, and turning them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the living God.

"Some persons speak of *missions* as though they were a new thing in the world; or at least as though they had never done much good to mankind. These persons forget that Christianity has always been extended by missions, wherever it has been extended at all, with the exception of what has been done in this way by colonization. They forget that all Europe, and large portions of Asia and Africa, have been converted to Christianity by missions; that the primitive preachers of Christianity were almost all missionaries; that the disciples who composed our Lord's household, to whom Matthias and Paul were subsequently added, were named *missionaries*, and have been gloriously distinguished in all succeeding ages, as the *missionaries of Jesus Christ*. They seem ignorant that the word *apostle*, introduced into our language from the Greek, is precisely of the same meaning as our word *missionary;* and that learned divines have regretted that the word was not translated instead of being thus introduced. They forget that our ancestors in Britain were wretched idolaters, offering human sacrifices, and clinging to the most degrading superstitions, till they were delivered from their miserable bondage by the instrumentality of missionaries. If such mighty transformations were wrought by the labors of missionaries, when printing was unknown, and there was but little intercourse between nations,—when most barbarous nations were subdivided into a multitude of petty states, hostile to each other,—when science was in its infancy, and the restraints of law and order were but partially enjoyed,—when commerce had just begun to produce its civilizing effects; —how much more encouragement is there to proceed with vigor in the establishment and support of missions, in these highly favored times, when the art of printing will enable us to multiply copies of the Scriptures so as to supply the wants of every human being,—when commerce visits every part of the world,—when wealth is abundant, and the means of supporting distant expeditions of benevolence are easily supplied,—when the number of persons engaged in this good work is great and increasing,—and above all, when the day is not far distant, as we trust, in which the word of the Lord shall have free course, and its influence be felt from the rising to the setting sun?

"We are anxious to fix your attention, Christian brethren, on the great object of evangelizing *all* nations; an object more glorious, more worthy of the universal patronage and admiration of the people of God, than the tongue can express, or the heart conceive, and an object of sure and no very distant accomplishment. To this object the eyes of Christians in many countries are already most earnestly directed. The Christian world is now, for the first time, reaching forward to its attainment, and even grasping it by anticipation. In Great Britain, the promulgation of true religion in every part of the earth, and the publication and distribution of the Scriptures in every language, are topics of general and familiar allusion, as though these stupendous events were at hand, and were even now hailed with demonstrations of joy. When we notice that the wisest and the best informed men in that empire, and in our own country, partake of these joyful anticipations, and that a similar crisis in the state of the church has never before been known; when we observe that this tone of public feeling has been excited not by a sudden impulse of enthusiasm, but by a patient comparison of the word of God with his providence, of prophecy with history,—by an attentive consideration of the peculiar *signs of the times*,—and by the gradual operation of causes above the powers of man to contrive or combine; we are forced to believe that God has great things to be accomplished by the men of this generation; and that, after punishing the nations for their sins, he is about to deliver them from the wretched bondage in which they have been held. To this day the ancient prophets looked forward with holy rapture; for this day the persecuted congregations of the faithful prayed during the gloomy reign of popish superstition; for this day the Reformers labored and suffered; for this day the most devout aspirations of pious souls have in every age ascended. Shall we, who are so happy as to see this day, neglect to do *our* part? Other times have been times of preparation; the present age is emphatically the age of action. Shall we remain idle in this harvest time of the world?

"None who have read their Bibles, ought to be ignorant that they are stewards of whatever they possess; that all their mens and opportunities of doing good are recorded in the book of God's remembrance; and that an account must be rendered of the manner in which this stewardship has been exercised. Who, in this favored land, can say that he has not been intrusted with at least *one* talent? Who can be willing to hide that talent in a napkin? How many are there, who have their five, their ten, their fifty, their hundred talents! And how unhappy will be their case, if all this liberality of Providence shall be found at last to have been wasted upon them; to have produced none of the good to which it ought to have been applied; and to have proved its earthly possesors guilty of unfaithfulness to the rightful Proprietor!

"The proportion of his property, which each Christian should devote to public and charitable purposes, differs according to the different circumstances in which he is placed, and must be left to the decision of his own conscience instructed by the word of God. But however difficult it might be to determine the exact amount which each one should give, there can be no hesitation in declaring, that it should, in all circumstances, and at all times, be so great as to be really valued by him who gives it, and thus be a real sacrifice in his estimation. For a poor widow to give her two mites, *even all her living*, is a great sacrifice; but for a wealthy man to give two hundred mites can be no sacrifice at all; for it would not cause him a moment's uneasiness, nor be considered as a loss worthy to be mentioned, if he were to lose ten times that sum in the bottom of the sea. That Christians may act with system, and yield to each charitable claim its proper regard, they will do wisely to ascertain, each one for himself, how large a sum he ought to bestow from year to year; always remembering, that it is safer to err on the side of generosity than on that of parsimony; that few err in giving too much, many *withholding more than is meet;* and that his decision is to be re-examined at the *judgment-seat of Christ.*

"Still less would we venture to intimate the proportion which is due to the various charitable purposes now existing in this country. We are confident, however, that where the public have the means of information in relation to such purposes, where no invidious comparisons are made between the claims of different charitable asociations, and no rivalship exists but that which provokes to love and to good works, there is reason to believe that Providence will direct to a proper distribution of pecuniary means. There are many charitable institutions, on each of which every good man ought to implore the divine blessing. Perhaps no one of them receives so much patronage as it deserves, and might very usefully employ. Let it be the endeavor of the particular friends of each to increase the general stock of benevolence, trusting that, if this be done, *all* benevolent designs will receive a rapidly increasing patronage.

There is one objection to sending missionaries abroad so common, and so plausible at first view, that it ought to be mentioned here. It is this: That many ministers of the gospel, more than can at present be supplied, are imperiously needed at home. This objection states a melancholy truth, but proceeds on a mistaken principle. If the apostles had argued thus, they never would have quitted Judea; the Gentiles would never have heard the gospel till many ages after the Christian era; our ancestors in Britain would never have been converted. The same objection could have applied, nay, was applied, to sending missionaries from Connecticut and Massachusetts to our new settlements, when the domestic Missionary Societies first began their operations.

"But not to dwell on this consideration, there is another which settles the debate at once; which is, *That the readiest and most efficacious method of promoting religion at home, is for Christians to exert themselves to send it abroad.* On the most thorough examination, this position will be found strictly and literally true. When missions to the heathen were first contemplated in England, the above objection was strongly urged, and with as great plausibility as it can ever be urged here. What has been the event? The number of evangelical preachers and professors of Christianity has been increasing in that country, in an unexampled manner, during the whole time since the first missionaries sailed from England. The increase of faithful preachers alone has more than twenty-fold exceeded the whole number of missionaries sent abroad.

When it was objected, on the floor of the Senate of Massachusetts, to the act for incorporating the Board in whose behalf we speak, that it was designed to afford the means *of exporting religion, whereas there was none to spare from among ourselves*, it was pleasantly and truly replied *that religion was a commodity, of which the more we exported the more we had remaining.* However strange this may appear to some, it will not seem strange to him who considers the import of these words: "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty. He that watereth, shall be watered also himself. It is more blessed to give than to receive." The government of God is a government of benevolence; and is intended to convince us that he who does good to others, is most secure of receiving good himself. The same remark which was made respecting the increase of religion in England, will apply to this country, so far as it has been in similar circumstances."

The following extract of a letter to the Rev. Dr. Worcester, dated March 31, 1815, shows the activity of Mr. Evarts' mind in relation to missions during this period, and the kind of influence he was exerting. The first paragraph refers to the difficulties encountered by the missionaries of the Board, in their first attempts to establish themselves at Bombay. It seemed probable, from the last advices then received, that they would be sent to England by the British authorities:*

"I am decided, however," says Mr. Evarts, "as at present advised, that even the return of our missionaries to this country should not prevent or impede our mission to Ceylon. If we are to be the instruments of doing anything worth mention for the church of God and the poor heathen, we must exhibit some of that enterprise which is observable in the conduct of worldly men.

"I congratulate you on your having an opportunity, in your missionary sermon, to make a strenuous effort in favor of the good cause—perhaps as good an opportunity as can ever be expected during a whole life. If God should smile on our endeavors, and make our way prosperous, a good missionary sermon before our Board will speak long after its author shall be removed from this world.

"This brings to my mind another thought, which has many times occurred to me, which, however, I forgot to mention at Newburyport; and that is, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered at Newburyport after the ordination solemnities. There may be objections which I do not foresee; but the proposal strikes me agreeably. I know of no proposal which would bring so many Christians together, or which would so powerfully strengthen the bonds of Christian love. The London Missionary Society not only join in this celebration at their annual meeting, but in their tours to form Auxiliary Missionary Societies, the same ordinance is administered in all the great towns. This is done, so far as I can judge, with the best effects. At Newburyport the occasion will be solemn; the season of the year inviting; the concourse of ministers and private Christians great; the performances, I presume, highly gratifying; the best affections of the pious heart called forth—and why should we not there celebrate the dying love of the Saviour? I add, that the churches represented at the council are numerous, and many Christians who will there meet, will see each other's faces no more on this side of the grave. I know you will think seriously of this, and let me be acquainted with the result of your reflections."

---

* See Reports of the Board for 1813 and 1814,—especially the Appendix to the latter; and Mr. Bardwell's Memoir of Rev. Gordon Hall, for a particular account of these difficulties. Burmah was the intended destination of the missionaries first sent out; but that plan was thwarted, and in the Providence of God, the little band was scattered, and after many months of difficulty and anxiety, two separate missions were commenced,—one at Bombay and the other on the Island of Ceylon.

The ordination here referred to was that of six missionaries,—Rev. Messrs. Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Jun., Edward Warren, Benjamin C. Meigs, Horatio Bardwell, and Daniel Poor,—which took place at Newburyport on the 21st of June, 1815. After the ordination services and a short recess, says Mr. Evarts in the Panoplist, "the house of worship (the largest in the commonwealth) was again filled. The communicants from different and distant churches, to the number of nearly seven hundred, who had assembled on this interesting occasion, were seated together, and apparently with one heart and one soul, celebrated the Lord's Supper. * * * The scene was novel in this country, and was uncommonly solemn and affecting. To many, we trust, it was a season of sweet communion with their ascended Saviour, and long to be remembered with gratitude. The view of so many communicants, assembled from various and distant churches, united in so solemn an act of fellowship, never to partake this feast together again on earth, brought impressively before the eye of faith the scenes of a future and invisible world, and to the humble believer imparted some pleasing foretaste of the future fellowship of the redeemed around the throne of God and the Lamb."

In June, 1816, Mr. Evarts visited Lower Canada and Western New York, partly on business and partly for the benefit of his health.

A letter to Dr. Worcester, written during his absence, touches upon a subject which now and often in subsequent years occupied much of Mr. Evarts' attention,—the observance of the Christian Sabbath:

"Through the kindness of Providence," he says, "I arrived here on the 10th instant, after a tedious journey of a week, the greater part of which will long be remembered on account of snows and frosts hitherto unparalleled since the settlement of these northern regions. My health is very good. I am expecting to set out for Montreal tomorrow morning. I think the tour to that place may be useful on several accounts. I shall endeavor to obtain information concerning the Indians at St. Regis and other places, and to learn the state of the people in Canada as to their possessing the Scriptures, schools, &c. I shall be glad if I can gain such knowledge of the state of things in Canada, as may be of some use to our national Bible Society. Should I obtain a good companion and a tolerable conveyance, I think of visiting Quebec, in which case I shall be absent ten days or a fortnight from the United States. On my return to this place, I expect to set out for the westward.

"I have thought much, on my journey, of the great enterprize of restoring the sanctity of the Sabbath, and raising the tone of public morals. There are more difficulties in the way of attaining these objects than most reflecting men are aware of; the enemies of reformation are in possession of many more strong-holds than they even dream of; and without the particular care and interposition of God, I should hold the consummation which we desire, as entirely hopeless. In regard to the Sabbath, I should think it rash to expect a victory without a series of defeats for at least twenty years. I speak of the matter on the supposition that God proceeds with a series of *favorable*, but not *decisive* interpositions, and brings forward the good cause quite as fast as is usual in his providence. The question then comes up, how are we to support a war of twenty years under a succession of defeats? This is a serious question, and is not to be disposed of by a few sanguine hopes and wishes. I have thought much of this question, and my judgment is that we must *begin at the beginning*. We are to accomplish an object by instruments. We must first obtain these instruments; and the first thing to be done is to pray specifically that God would raise up, anoint, and set forth in the view of all good people, the instruments which he will deign to employ. We want a man possessing every good quality of Wilberforce; and we want such a man set forth, in the view of all our people, as an instrument of good to mankind. It is a notorious truth, and one which we may speak to each other, that there is not in Massachusetts a single man capable of leading the moral exertions of the friends of religion and morality. I mean there is not a man in civil life, and known to the public, who can lead these efforts with a tenth part of the ability that Mr. Otis or Mr. Gore could display on political subjects. I have but just entered on this subject, and must leave it, merely observing that God is as able to raise up a Wilberforce on this side the Atlantic as on the other. If we are to have a Wilberforce, who shall be received and honored as such, he is probably now at school, or at college, but may be brought forward before the war ends. In the mean time we must use such instruments as we have."

"You must not suppose, from my mentioning Mr. Wilberforce, that I consider it as easy to obtain a victory in our case as in his great enterprizes. It would be a hundred times as difficult to restore the Sabbath in London as to abolish the slave trade or open India to missionaries."

In accordance with the plan indicated in this letter, Mr. Evarts visited Montreal and Quebec, and then the Western part of New York, as far as the Falls of Niagara, returning by way of Albany to Charlestown.

At the close of the year 1817 the health of Mr. Evarts became seriously impaired, and he was advised by his physician, that relaxation from business and a visit to a milder climate were of essential importance to its restoration. He arranged his business accordingly; and receiving from the Committee a commission as general agent of the Board, formed his plans so as to make his absence, while securing the great object of health, as subservient as possible to its interests. He embarked for Savannah on the 20th of January, 1818; and arrived at that port, after a stormy and dangerous passage, on the 9th of February. An account of his subsequent proceedings will be given chiefly in extracts from his letters and journals.

Savannah, Feb. 9. Landed from the Adeline and walked up to the city. Passed two or three plantations,—one owned by an Englishman whose slaves are said to be hardly used. I saw two gangs of them, amounting to thirty in all, employed in ditching. It would be called a cold day for that business with us. Some of the men stood in mud half-leg deep. The women, who were as numerous as the men, stood on the margin of the ditch, and scraped out the mud with a long hoe. They were pretty warmly clad; but in general looked disconsolate and out of temper.

10. Visited Mr. Hubbard, a missionary sent by ladies in Boston, who is near his end of consumption. He has been treated with the utmost kindness, and is visited by a number of pious persons of both sexes. His mind is in a very happy state.

11. Attended an auction, for the purpose of seeing a negro sold to the highest bidder. It was a humiliating spectacle, to see a human being put up with damaged cheese, shoes, &c. &c., to be disposed of for life to any man who might purchase him. The fellow looked disconsolate.

18. The richness of this country in agricultural produce is astonishing. Mr. M. informed me that the State of Georgia, containing only 300,000 inhabitants, white and black, had exported $30,000,000 worth of produce in the last three years,—that is, $10,000,000 a year; a greater sum, in his opinion and in mine, than was ever received before for the produce of agricultural labor by any community of the same population since the days of Noah. Produce to the amount of $8,000,000 is annually purchased at Augusta. The peace [1815] found the planters in this and the neighboring states greatly in debt; but they have been completely extricated and made rich by their exports. Cotton can be afforded

by the planter, even at the present high price of plantations and stock (i. e. negroes !) at 15 cents a pound. The price is 31 cents ; and it has been 33. Rice is an excellent crop at $3 per hundred pounds ; the present price is $6,25.

Dr. K. informs me that there are two large churches and congregations of blacks in this city, under the care of black preachers, who are Methodists. Sometimes there are 1,500 communicants at one of these places. The Methodists are universally allowed to have done great good to the slaves.

19. I have this week distributed reports, &c., and am intending to leave this place for Beaufort next week. My intended course is thence through Charleston, Georgetown, and Columbia, to Augusta ; and thence through Waynesboro', Sparta, and Athens, to Chickamaugah.

21. Called at a painter's room, to see a portrait of the countess of Huntington. It was brought out by Mr. Whitefield and placed in his Orphan Asylum. The countess is represented as walking in a wilderness, holding a crown of thorns in her right hand, and placing her right foot on the coronet, which, as a countess, she had a right to wear. Her person is tall, erect, and slender ; her countenance bears the marks of mortification and abstraction from the world. The friend of religion will not fail to reflect on the exalted virtue which this distinguished female exhibited, and on the vast results, through eternity, of her activity in the service of God. How trifling will all the decorations of nobility appear at the last day ; and how fearful will be the condition of those who shall have perverted the influence of their stations, and abused their wealth, and hardened themselves in sin, while possessing the means of extensive usefulness ! Had all the nobility of Great Britain possessed the spirit of the countess of Huntington, what an aspect would that island now exhibit !

23. Had an interesting conversation with Dr. K. about England and France, where he had travelled. I suggested an opinion which I had deliberately formed, and as to the correctness of which I wished his judgment, viz. that the people of the United States, including all classes, slaves, new settlements, &c., are better supplied with really evangelical preaching than the people of England. To this he expressed his deliberate assent.

March 3. Left Savannah this morning in the steamboat for Charleston.—I found, by taking part in the exercises last evening, [the Monthly Concert for prayer] that my voice could be used with less injury than when I left home.

13. Charleston. Was extremely happy, after being disappointed a long time, to receive letters from home. One of them informs me of the birth of a son. For this signal favor of divine providence, I hope to be thankful. I commend the babe to the merciful protection of Heaven; and pray that its soul may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus, however it may please God to dispose of its temporal state.

Negroes are very dear here, and in all the southern country at present. Mr. B. gave $2,800 lately for a woman and her five children, the eldest of which was but ten, and only two could be of any service as yet. The woman looked disconsolate, having formed an opinion that her master would make her free, as he was about leaving this country. She was greatly disappointed on being sold, though not dissatisfied with her new master. Mr. M. said he would give $1,500 for a fellow as good as one he showed me, for a driver. The one to whom he referred, was not a very intelligent fellow; but remarkably active, faithful, and fond of work, about twenty-five, a native African.

Mr. M. and Mr. B. agreed in the opinion, that *slavery and the improvement of the minds of slaves were incompatible.* Mr. M. was also of opinion, that all the low southern country can never support a white population, without the labor of slaves. Whites will experience certain death, if they attempt to labor in the field here in the hottest weather. Mr. M. does not think that one out of 200 would live a single summer. It has been tried abundantly, by the most hardy men, and always proved fatal, or at least brought on sickness that compelled them to desist. Negroes, on the contrary, bear the heat not only without complaining, but with pleasure. Mr. M. has been in the southern country thirty-one years, and never heard a negro complain of heat. They lie down in the sun of choice, when it is almost vertical, and when a white man could not do it for five minutes without inevitable death. Yet in this situation they will lie for hours asleep.

Another man told me that they were very fond of a fire in their cabins all summer, when the whites are panting and gasping for breath. Mulattoes bear the heat less pleasantly than the negroes, though brought up in all respects alike.—I observe comparatively few mulattoes on the plantations.

At 11 o'clock this day, I attended a sale of slaves belonging to the estate of a gentleman lately deceased. The gang consisted of 105, as I counted them ; and they were said to be one of the best gangs offered for sale, as their master had been uniformly kind to them. Several other small lots were sold at the same time.

I noted down with a pencil several particulars of the sale, which I shall now enter here. The negroes, put up at one time, were mounted on a large table, and before the sale began, their characters and qualities were given. The greater part of them looked exceedingly disconsolate, much as if they were led to execution. Many were bathed in tears. Some few had an appearance of little concern. They were put up in families, so far as families existed, which was the case with the far greater number. A job carpenter and his wife went at $1,000 each—a field woman at $560.

I observed that there was a prevalent disposition to depreciate themselves, in the poor creatures when spoken to, and to represent themselves as sickly and unable to work, and to represent their children as sickly. Some appeared to tell the truth as to their ability ; but not one wished to show himself off to advantage. The reason is obvious. The more a slave's new master gave for him, the more he would expect of him.

I am told that in these sales generally, the slaves speak beforehand to some gentleman whom they know, requesting him to come forward and purchase them. This they do with the utmost importunity, as they dread to be sold to a bad, or an unknown master. It was pretty evident that most of the sales to-day were made to persons to whom the slaves had made application. I heard a gentleman say that a lot of nine which he had purchased, were taken by him in consequence of their importunity. He gave a high price for them ; but seemed to take it for granted that he should have bought them at any rate. There were exceptions to this observation, a considerable number being sold to masters whom they had never seen; which, when they ascertained the fact, occasioned the bitterest disappointment. A touching case of this kind was that of the last lot above-mentioned. They had evidently expected to be purchased by some one to whom they had applied; but when they were struck off, the name of a different man was announced. One of them remarked with amazement, that "he did not know the man;" to which it was tauntingly replied, "He will soon know you." The mingled emotions of grief, rage, indignation, and despair, which were expressed by their countenances, and which found vent in tears and broken sentences, are indescribable. Particularly was this the case with an apprentice, who, if there is any dependence upon physiognomy, was a fine fellow indeed.

But there were scenes more affecting than this. I refer to the joy expressed by slaves, when their relatives and friends were purchased according to their wishes, by those whom they considered as good masters. Several instances fell within my own observation, of the warmest congratulations being offered to those who had just descended from the table. The most affecting case was that of two brothers, who went for $1,220 each. They were purchased by a lady, according to their wishes. A wife, or a sister, could not refrain from casting her arms round the neck of one of them, and the congratulations which they received from many blacks at once, were earnest and even passionate. An old negro was giving them a charge to honor their new mistress, when the lady herself appeared, (though the auction was attended by her agent,) and was thanked in the most expressive manner for having made the purchase. Her feelings were entirely overpowered. She could not speak, but shed a profusion of tears.

The only blow which I have as yet seen given to a negro, was given by a gentleman of respectable appearance, in the area of the exchange, just before the sale began. For some language, which the gentleman doubtless considered impertinent, the negro received a blow on the jaw, and walked away quietly as though nothing unusual had taken place. I thought the gentleman consulted his dignity very little in the case.

The negroes did not look so stout by any means as the laboring white population of any part of our country. They looked healthy, however; especially the children. Having just received the news of the birth of a child, I could not but think how differently the destinies of men are disposed of in this world. My children might be taken and sold with as much justice and propriety as the immense multitude of native Africans, who have been stolen and transported across the ocean.

23. Left Charleston for Georgetown. At a tavern on the road, was much surprized and pleased to find a missionary-box to receive contributions for educating heathen youth. Judging from the example of my fellow-passengers, the box receives but little money. One of them imprecated a curse upon himself, if he ever gave a cent for that purpose. I entered into some discussion with him; but, although it was easy to silence him, it was not easy to alter his feelings.

April 6. Charleston. Mr. M'Dowell was at Charleston a week before me. I might have come on with him; but it was not desirable, on any account, that there should be an appearance of interference with each other. Indeed, the Presbyterian church ought to have a fair opportunity to make its appeal, especially to its own members; and Mr. M'D. had made preparation by letter, so that the people were expecting him. He has succeeded very well.

I was never in a place where so many people might give largely, without abridging any luxury, as here; and the mass of them do give more liberally than the mass of people of the same wealth in New England. But it does not require a tenth part of the self-denial to give here, as with us. Money is very easily obtained; especially by those who have a competency already. Gen. P. told me that he made but half a crop last year. I remarked that I supposed it hardly paid expenses. He said, somewhat more. Only think what sort of agriculture this is, when three-quarters of an ordinary crop, after paying every expense, is clear gain to the owner, and that without any personal labor of his own!

The question, how we are to receive a regular accession of donations for our Board from the South, has dwelt a good deal on my mind. I have thought much of a circular letter, not of the common sort, than which nothing can be more inefficient; but one adapted to make each individual addressed feel that the appeal is made to him particularly, and aimed directly and boldly at his heart. We have conversed together about a letter for very rich men. This is wanted, and will do good. We want at least two others, which I thought much of while at Georgetown; one designed for persons possessed of a competency, who maintain the character of exemplary Christians, calculated to induce them to make regular, unsolicited, and punctual remittances for our objects. The other should be addressed to persons of whom less can be hoped in a systematic way, but who would do something handsome, if the subject were brought powerfully to their minds by a concise abstract of facts and arguments.

8. Left Charleston in the stage for Columbia. We rode thirty-eight miles in eleven hours. The country generally is sparsely covered with yellow pine. There is scarcely a half-mile on any of the great roads in New England, in which more agricultural enterprise would not be seen, than in the whole thirty-four miles after passing the Four Mile House.

10. Columbia. The greater part of the country on the wayside extremely barren; but as we approached the Congaree, there were extensive plantations. This land could not be bought of the owners; but when a plantation is sold to settle an estate, it goes at $60 an acre, or more. A great part of the land between this place and Charleston would not be taken as a gift. The country is settled in the most unfavorable manner, both to the promotion of the gospel and to the general diffusion of knowledge.

13. Mr. —, himself a wealthy man, thinks that large planters ought to have their slaves taught to read, and to maintain a spiritual teacher for them alone. He says they can afford it well enough—as indeed they can.

Between the sea-coast and the middle country, that is, for about one hundred miles, is extremely unhealthy from the first of July to November. It is reckoned almost certain death for a northern man to pass through that region during those months. I now have particularly in view the road from Charleston to Columbia.

15. Augusta. Arrived here yesterday, excessively fatigued. Went to bed with a fever, and was kept awake four hours by fatigue and pain.

At Augusta Mr. Evarts attended the sessions of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, and did much, by intercourse with the members, to excite an interest in favor of Foreign Missions, and to secure the co-operation of the Presbyterian churches in those states for the promotion of the great objects of the Board.

The preceding extracts exhibit him almost exclusively as a traveller, and by no means give, by themselves, an adequate or even correct view of his employments. Wherever he went, and especially at Savannah and Charleston, he was diligently laboring, to the utmost of his little strength, in diffusing information respecting Foreign Missions, by personal intercourse with the pious and intelligent, by public addresses, and by various other means; in soliciting donations, and making arrangements to secure future remittances of funds; in promoting other objects of Christian benevolence; and in writing for the Panoplist. It was the first visit of an officer of the Board to the churches in that region; and he found that much labor was needed, to make those churches acquainted with the subject of missions to the heathen, and to bring them to appreciate and heartily co-operate in the objects, plans, and proceedings of the Board.

TO REV. DR. WORCESTER.

Hancock Co., Georgia, April 29, 1818.

In my letter of the 25th, from Augusta, I had not room nor time to say all I wished relative to my progress from Charleston to that place, nor to account for my being about a fortnight behind my calculations, as I actually am. I would observe, in the first place, that no person from the north can have an adequate view of the difficulty of getting from place to place in the southern states. I could not go across from Georgetown to Columbia, as I had hoped; for there was no possible means of conveyance. The extreme backwardness of the season, and the badness of the roads, kept me from pushing forward as I otherwise might have done. When at last I came to inquire at the stage-house for a passage to Columbia, I found that the stage went but once a week from Charleston to the capital of the state. I was detained five days on this account. The stage was three days in going 123 miles. I was obliged to wait three days for the northern stage, and thus did not reach Augusta till Tuesday evening the 14th.

30. Sparta. The two objects of my journey, so far as health is concerned, were, to avoid the evils of a northern climate, and to gain strength by a tour on horseback. The first has been completely attained; for a blessing on the latter, upon which I am now about to enter, I look to a kind Providence. I had gained so much strength at Charleston, as to be able to walk six miles in the course of a day without much fatigue. My ill turn at Augusta put me back; but I now feel much as before.

While at Augusta, I distributed copies of the Reports and the Missionary Herald among the members of the Presbytery and Synod convened there—conversed, as I had opportunity, on missions—and endeavored to increase a missionary influence. The Synod appointed a committee to prepare a constitution for a Missionary Society. I sought an interview with them, to request that the basis might be so broad, that aid could be afforded, should the funds permit, to our operations. To this they had no objection. Nothing more was done, however, than to recommend to all the congregations the formation of local societies. Should this be done with considerable zeal, we could address circulars and other papers to the several societies, and it would be strange if none should produce any effect.

On the 8th of May he reached Chickamaugah (afterwards Brainerd,) by way of Springplace, where he spent a day of great interest to himself with the venerable Moravian missionary, Rev. John Gambold. The mission at Springplace was commenced in 1801, and had for thirteen years been under the care of Mr. Gambold. On leaving him, says Mr. Evarts, "I could not but reflect on the dignified character and noble employment of the consistent and devoted missionary. Happy they who sustain this character and spend their lives in this employment. Happy they, who, when their Lord cometh, shall be found instructing the ignorant, and spreading the Saviour's name where it has never been known before." In a letter to his family he speaks of this visit with evident delight:

"I rejoice that I have had opportunity to pay him (Mr. Grambold) a visit. At his house I saw a most happy exemplification of the pastoral, domestic, and social virtues, as produced by genuine Christianity; and it will certainly be my own fault, if the day spent there proves not one of the most profitable of my life. Mr. Gambold is fifty-eight and his wife fifty-six. They were married for the mission, at an advanced period of life, and have been employed in it together for thirteen years. A happier couple will not easily be found; and their happiness arises primarily from love to their Saviour, and next from the prosecution of a noble end, in the manner which the Saviour commanded. An elder brother of Mr. Gambold came on a visit of two months, and finding it so happy a place, has prolonged his visit for nine years, and is now in no haste to be gone. The two men manage their farm. Mrs. Gambold is assisted by a mulatto servant and her little boy, in her domestic affairs. Mr. Gambold and his wife and brother are all alive on religious subjects, and think of little but their employments, their Redeemer, and their reward in heaven.

"It was on Friday evening, the 8th inst., just after sun-set, that I alighted at Brainerd. The path which leads to the mission-house from the main road, passes through an open wood, which is extremely beautiful at this season of the year. The mild radiance of the setting sun, the unbroken solitude of the wilderness, the pleasantness of the forest with all its springing and blossoming vegetation, the object of my journey, and the nature and design of the institution which I was about to visit, conspired to render the scene solemn and interesting, and to fill the mind with tender emotions.

"Early in the evening, the children of the school, being informed that one of their northern friends, whom they had been expecting, had arrived, eagerly assembled in the hall, and were drawn up in ranks and particularly introduced. They are neither shy nor forward in their manners. To a stranger they appear not less interesting than other children of the same age; but if he considers their circumstances and prospects, incomparably more so.

"At evening prayers, I was forcibly struck with the stillness, order, and decorum of the children, and with the solemnity of the family worship. A portion of the Scriptures was read, with Scott's practical observations; a hymn was sung, in which a large portion of the children united, and Mr. Hoyt led the devotions of the numerous family. If all the members of the Board could hear the prayers, which are daily offered in their behalf at this station, (and I presume at all others under their superintendence;) and if all the patrons and contributors could hear the thanks which are returned to God for their liberality; and especially, if they could see a large circle of children, lately rescued from heathenism, kneeling with apparent seriousness and engaging in the solemnities of Christian worship, one of them already, a hopeful convert, and others thoughtful and inquiring;—if all these things could be seen, one may safely predict that the exertions and sacrifices of the friends of missions would be increased four-fold. These things are not the less real, however, because they cannot be seen by every friend to the cause."

This was the first mission among the Indians that the Board established. Mr. Evarts was fully employed during the three weeks that he spent among the Cherokees—nearly the whole time at Brainerd (Chickamaugah,) in obtaining information of essential importance to the Committee at home, and in consultations and arrangements respecting future operations there and in other parts of the Indian country. The completion of arrangements for establishing a mission among the Choctaws, especially, demanded much time and very serious attention. In this, and indeed in all his labors there, he was greatly assisted by Mr. Cornelius,[*] who arrived a few days after him, and left the nation at the same time. The mission at Brainerd had been commenced only sixteen months before. The success that had attended it, and its whole aspect was in a high degree animating to Mr. Evarts; he examined minutely all its concerns; entered with the liveliest sympathy into the feelings of his missionary brethren, and prepared himself to be an invaluable counsellor, after his return, in regard to every thing connected with Indian missions. The following paragraphs are of the same date with the last extract:

> "Particular mention has already been made of Catharine Brown; but I think you will be pleased to hear something more of this interesting female. Her parents are half-breeds, who have never learnt to speak English; yet if you were to see her at a boarding-school in New-England, as she ordinarily appears here, you would not distinguish her from well-educated females of the same age, either by her complexion, features, dress, pronunciation, or manners. If your attention were directed to her particularly, you would notice a more than ordinary modesty and reserve. If you were to see her in a religious meeting of pious females, you would not distinguish her, unless by her more than common simplicity and humility. When she joined the school in July last, (having come more than one hundred miles for that sole purpose,) she could read in syllables of three letters, and was seventeen years old. From her superior manners and comely person she had probably attracted more attention, than any other female in the nation. She was vain, and excessively fond of dress, wearing a profusion of ornaments in her ears. She can now read well in the Bible, is fond of reading other books, and has been particularly pleased with the Memoirs of Mrs. Newell. Last fall she became serious, is believed to have experienced religion in the course of the

---

[*] Rev. Elias Cornelius, afterwards Mr. Evarts' successor as Corresponding Secretary to the Board.

autumn, and was baptized and admitted to the church in January. Since that time she has been constantly in the family; and all the female members of it have the most intimate knowledge of her conduct, and receive a frank disclosure of her feelings. It is their unanimous opinion, that she gives uncommon evidence of piety. At meetings for social prayer and religious improvement, held by them on every Thursday afternoon and Sabbath evening, Catharine prays in her turn, much to the gratification of her sisters in Christ. Her prayers are distinguished by great simplicity, as to thought and language, and seem to be the filial aspirations of the devout child. Before Mrs. Chamberlin took charge of the girls, Catherine had, of her own accord, commenced evening prayer with them, just as they were retiring to rest. Sometime after this practice had been begun, it was discovered by one of the missionaries, who, happening to pass by the cabin where the girls lodge, overheard her pouring forth her desires in very affecting and appropriate language. On being inquired of respecting it, she simply observed that she had prayed with the girls, because she thought it was her duty. Yet this young woman, whose conduct might now reprove many professing Christians that have been instructed in religion from their infancy, only ten months ago had never heard of Jesus Christ, nor had a single thought whether the soul survived the body or not. Since she became religious, her trinkets have gradually disappeared, till only a single drop remains in each ear. On hearing that pious females have, in many instances, devoted their ornaments to the missionary cause, she has determined to devote hers also. In coming to this determination, she acted without influence from the advice of others.*

" On the 14th instant we were highly gratified by the arrival of Mr. Cornelius, who had been hourly expected for several days. He brought with him a Choctaw youth of sixteen to be educated at the Foreign Mission School in Connecticut. The arrival of Mr. C. was desirable on many accounts; but particularly because he was able to give precise information with respect to the proposed seat of the mission to the Choctaws, and the best mode of conveying the missionaries thither. The interest felt in his welfare by all who were present, and the important services, which he had rendered to the cause of missions, while journeying within the last sixteen months about four thousand miles, of which one thousand miles were within the limits of the Indian nations, will be easily felt and justly appreciated by yourself.

" The subsequent Sabbath will long be remembered by us, on account of its sacred solemnities. The admistration of the Lord's supper had been appointed, in expectation of the arrival of Mr. Cornelius. He preached from the chorus of the one hundred and seventh Psalm: *O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.* It was at this time that the colored man, mentioned above, was admitted to the church. Twenty-four persons sat down together, here in the wilderness, at the table of their Lord. Five of us, who had been intimately connected in these attempts to convey the Gospel to the Indians, expected to leave the place within a few days, two on our way towards home, and the others to enter upon the Choctaw mission. We could not indulge the slighest anticipation of ever meeting again at this feast of love; and it was altogether probable that several of us should see each other's faces no more in this world, after the expected separation should have taken place. These reflections, and many others which will suggest themselves to your mind, rendered the occasion deeply affecting.

---

* For an account of this very interesting female, see the Memoir of Catherine Brown, by Rev. Dr. Anderson, now one of the Secretaries of the Board.

During my stay the mission and school were visited by several gentlemen, who were passing through the nation, among whom was the Governor of Tennessee. They all appeared pleased with what they saw; particularly the Governor, who spent a night at the mission-house, and witnessed the regular exercises of the school. Nothing strikes a stranger more agreeably, than the ease and propriety with which the children sing several hymns, without assistance from any other person. Mr. Chamberlin tells me that he believes every child who has been at school any length of time, can take part in the singing; and it is with pleasure I add, that every member of the missionary family can also join with the voice, as well as with the understanding.

Mr. Cornelius and myself are preparing to set out for home on Monday. We take three Cherokee youths with us for the Foreign Mission School. One is the son of Mr. Hicks; and the good man has come up to spend the Sabbath with us.*

On the 25th, the necessary business having been completed, Mr. Evarts, Mr. Cornelius, and several missionaries who were to establish a new mission among the Choctaws, left Brainerd.

"The missionaries, who were about to leave Brainerd, felt strongly attached to that place, as the scene of their first labors among the heathen, and the place where signal tokens of the divine favor had been manifested; yet they were perfectly willing to commence a new establishment, at the call of duty, though it was to be four hundred miles distant, and in a perfect wilderness. Mr. Williams was greatly attached to the children of the school, as he had been the instructor for a considerable part of last year. At the time of parting, the mission family, including all the children, were assembled in the open passage. Mr. Hoyt prayed, and all united in singing, "Blest be the tie that binds," &c. Many tears were shed, and the elder children were deeply affected. As Mr. Kingsbury, Mr. Cornelius, and myself were about to visit the Cherokee agency by a circuitous route, we concluded to send the Indian lads directly thither, under the care of an elder son of Mr. Hicks. Nothing touched me more than to see this Christian father, converted from heathenism in a heathen land, about to send his darling son to the heart of a Christian country, with a view to his receiving an enlarged and Christian education. The parental and filial attachment is described by our missionaries, as being uncommonly strong among the Indians; vastly stronger than any other and all other attachments. When the boys were mounted for their journey, and Mr. Hicks had bidden us farewell, he went a short distance from his son into the woods, to take leave of him aside from observation; and thence turned off homeward. What passed there I know not. Doubtless the yearnings of a parent's bowels were experienced; doubtless the prayers of a father ascended to the Preserver of men. These prayers will be echoed from many a bosom; and it will be ardently desired that the lad may return in safety with a cultivated mind and a sanctified heart, and may be a comfort to his father and a blessing to his people.

---

* Mr. Hicks was a member of the Moravian Church, an intelligent, well informed man, who had great influence in his nation.

" The greater part of the mission family, not including the children, accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Williams to the river, a distance of seven miles. The road leads through an entire wilderness, and no house is seen except that of the ferryman, at a little distance from the river's bank. The Tennessee is here a noble stream, half a mile wide, and probably conveys in its channel twice or three times as much water, as is conveyed in the channel of the Connecticut against Middletown. When we look at such a river on the map, we conceive of its banks as cultivated; especially if it runs through a country so long settled, and so populous as Tennessee. But I am told, that the greater part of this river, even without the Indian limits, is still shaded by native forests; and within these limits the eye of the boatman can seldom meet with any indication that the country is inhabited. The mighty flood rolls along in solitary grandeur, as it did a thousand years ago. At the place where the missionary boat was fastened, the banks presented nothing but a wilderness. The scene was new and imposing. As we looked up the river the eye caught a perpendicular cliff of lime-stone eighty feet high, which formed the right bank; a beautiful island divided the channel into nearly equal parts; and both banks were covered with luxuriant vegetation from the oak to the cane, the flowering shrub, and the tender grass. The trees had now assumed the appearance of summer.

" When the boat was ready to depart, and after we had enjoyed an agreeable interview, a parting hymn by Dr. Doddridge was sung to Old Hundred, and a prayer was offered by Mr. Cornelius. The fact that this mission was prepared and sent forth in the wilderness, gave the whole transaction an indescribable interest. None were more affected than four native women, who could not speak English, though they could understand something of it, and who had come four or five miles to take leave of Mr. and Mrs. Williams. One of them is so old, that she has great grand children at the school. She is remarkable for kindness of disposition, and attention to the missionaries.

" The religious solemnities being over, we stepped on shore; the boatmen untied the ropes, pushed into the current, and the boat moved gently out of our sight. Our friends of the mission family returned to Brainerd; we crossed the ferry, and pursued our course towards Washington, Tennessee, through the woods.

"On Wednesday, at noon, we reached the Cherokee agency. The venerable Col. Meigs, who was taken prisoner at Quebec when Montgomery fell, has for many years been the agent of government in this nation. He received us with the greatest kindness, and expressed a deep interest in our mission and school. At present there is a meeting of the Indians here, at which the whole population has been invited to attend. The object of the meeting is to explain the treaty of July last, and to enrol those who intend removing across the Mississippi, and those who wish to take reservations of a mile square, according to the treaty. It is a week since the talk opened. The concourse was not so numerous as was expected. There was, however, a very diversified assemblage, composed of persons of all ages, of both sexes, and of all complexions, from the full-blooded Cherokees to the whites. Governor M'Minn was the commissioner of the government to transact business with the Indians. He showed us many civilities, and invited Mr. Cornelius to preach the next day.

"On Thursday morning the Governor held his concluding talk with the natives and dismissed the council. Mr. Cornelius then preached to a mixed audience, under the bower which had been formed for the accommodation of the people during the long session. According to the previous arrangement, I addressed the Indians who were about removing to the Arkansas, on the subject of establishing a mission and school among them. The public interpreter explained my meaning, as I proceeded. The principal chief had visited the school at Brainerd while I was there, and appeared much pleased with it. Other leading Indians had done the same; and many who are about crossing the Mississippi had expressed a strong wish that a school should accompany them. Still it was thought desirable that the subject should be again brought forward. We happened very opportunely to be in the nation at the holding of this council. The particulars of the interview will be related, God willing, when I am more at leisure. At present I can only say that there are weighty reasons for establishing a mission, as soon as possible, on the river Arkansas.

31. Knoxville, Tenn. A Sabbath school is regularly taught here for blacks and whites. Mr. S. tells me that the means of religious instruction here have been underrated. Religious knowledge is more diffused than we have been led to suppose. There are very few Presbyterian ministers, and there is a very great deficiency of regular preaching of any sort; but Methodists and Baptists penetrate into all the recesses of the mountains and convey many of the truths of the gospel to the minds of the people.

It is not right to compare this population with the heathen of Asia, or with the heathen tribes of this country.

June 4. While at Brainerd I was very busy, and regret much that I had not time to write down at length all that we did, with our reasons in each case. As it is, I depend much upon memory to explain to the Committee the state of things at the mission. I have with me the heads of our decisions, extracted from the secretary's notes.

I am much more convinced than before I came this journey, that a visit to the mission was very important, so far as I am to have any influence hereafter in directing Indian missions; and I trust it will not be useless, even if I should never again take part in the measures of our Board. Our contemplated visit to the city of Washington we deem of very considerable importance to the cause.

June 5. This county is very new; the climate is healthy; and I should think very well of it as the place of my future residence, in case I leave Boston,* were it not for the existence of slavery, which is a much greater evil than I ever conceived it to be before my visit to the south. However, it is a much less evil here than in Georgia and the Carolinas.

Having parted with Mr. Cornelius, Mr. Evarts pursued his journey alone on horseback, through Kentucky to Cincinnati, and thence through Chillicothe, Zanesville, Wheeling, and Winchester, to Washington, and home seizing every opportunity, by public addresses and by intercourse with ministers of the gospel and others, to awaken a missionary spirit and secure permanent aid to the objects of the Board.

July 5. Sabbath, Uniontown, Pa. In the morning was informed that there would be no preaching in town today. Attended Methodist prayer meeting, (or perhaps class meeting.) There was no clergyman; two prayers were made, hymns sung, and a sort of personal examination had. Ten whites were present, and nine blacks; one of the prayers was made by a black man. I found no fault with any doctrine implied in their prayers or exhortations.

---

* Mr. Evarts at this time, to use his own language, felt under obligations to continue in his station at Boston as long as he could discharge its duties without immediate danger to his life; but thought it probable that he should be compelled to seek a support for his family elsewhere and in some different employment.

At 11 o'clock was informed that Mr. W., the Presbyterian minister, had unexpectedly returned, and that divine service would be held as usual at the court-house. Between the services I introduced myself to Mr. W., and proposed to make a statement respecting the plans and objects of the Board, the Cherokee mission, &c., in the evening. After some hesitation he consented, and notice was given accordingly. In the evening the court-house was crowded. After my statement, Mr. W. read some religious intelligence, and enforced the whole by very appropriate illustrations. The communications of the evening furnished him an excellent occasion to press personal religion upon his hearers. Uniontown is a respectable village, forty years old; and yet has never had regular preaching till within a little more than a year past. Mr. W. used this fact with great effect, by remarking that it might be a part of the plan of Providence, while Otaheitans, Cherokees, and Hottentots, were brought into the kingdom of God, to bring in some of the people of Uniontown too. The Gospel is now preached here after such an unaccountable delay; who knows but it may be sent hither in mercy as well as to the heathen?

In the beginning of the next year (1819) the critical state of the Cherokees and other Indian tribes gave Mr. Evarts, for a time, great anxiety. The first mission of the Board among the Cherokees, it has already been remarked, was established at Chickamaugah, afterwards Brainerd. In the autumn of 1816, Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, by direction of the Committee, visited the nation for the purpose of selecting a station and making other necessary arrangements. On his way thither he passed through Washington, where he made known to the President the intentions of the Board, and received from him and from Mr. Crawford, then Secretary of War, every encouragement that could reasonably be expected. He was assured officially that houses would be erected at the public expense for the accommodation of a school and a teacher, that agricultural implements would be furnished, and that, as circumstances might from time to time justify and require, other houses and various means for prosecuting the mission would be provided in the same way.* Assurances of similar aid from the Government in the establishment of missions among the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, were officially given in 1817, and a particular desire manifested that the instruction of these four tribes should go on at the same time.† These assurances were renewed the next year, and preparations were made by the Board to do all in their power to render effective, as speedily and extensively as possible and among all the tribes named, the benevolent dispositions of the government.

The gratifying state in which Mr. Evarts found the Cherokee Mission, in the spring of 1818, will be recollected. In a few short months only after that visit, the prospect which then appeared so bright began to be clouded, and a series of difficulties commenced, against which he struggled, with what devotion and ability will appear hereafter, but in vain. The danger arose from the attempted execution, by the government of the United States, of a plan for removing the Indians from their ancient homes to the country west of the Mississippi. On receiving the first intimation that the change might probably soon be effected in regard to the Cherokees, Mr. Evarts wrote to Dr. Worcester as follows:

TO REV. DR. WORCESTER.

Boston, February 3, 1819.

I now write to send a letter from father Hoyt,‡ for your perusal, and with particular reference to the suggestion at the end, viz: that some member of the Committee should visit Washington. This lies with great weight upon my mind. Think of it—pray over it—and then, if you are not decided against it, call a meeting of the Prudential Committee *very soon.*

The present is an eventful crisis with the Cherokees; and with our establishment of course, and with all the Indian tribes.

If the Cherokees have given their delegates, as father Hoyt says, power to exchange the whole country, the country *will certainly be exchanged this winter*, and the best terms must be made that can be made. The Indian affairs are also before Congress in some shape or other. The important crisis will be, the last fortnight of the session and a few days afterwards; say three weeks from the 20th instant, at Washington.

---

* The Annual Report of the A. B. C. F. M.

† Eighth Annual Report.

‡ Rev. Ard Hoyt, missionary of the Board.

Will not Mr. Reed* go? If so, all will rejoice. If not, will not you go? The health of the two senior members of the Committee puts them out of the question. If, after consultation, it appears important that one should go, and if neither you nor Mr. Reed can go, and if my health should be as it is, and the weather not too bad, I would endeavor to go. But I should, for obvious reasons, prefer to have Mr. Reed go, and yourself next to him.

When you consider the present state of the Indians, I think you will regard the subject as deserving a meeting of the Prudential Committee by all means.

A meeting of the Prudential Committee was immediately held, and the Corresponding Secretary of the Board was appointed to proceed to Washington, to take such measures as might be deemed necessary for the benefit of the mission. The subject still engrossed the feelings of Mr. Evarts, and the following letter was addressed to Dr. Worcester at Washington:

Boston, Feb. 16, 1819.

I saw in Saturday's Centinel a statement, that from November 1st, to December 11th, about forty days, nearly 12,000 souls crossed the Arkansas river, from the western country, with a view to settle on the south side of it. Though the account is probably exaggerated, yet, if there is a great emigration of whites to the parts near the contemplated residence of the Cherokees, they will be immediately pressed harder than they are now. And where is the security that they will not be so pressed? Suppose the present government to be inclined vigorously to protect them there, and to prevent intrusion; is there any probability that future administrations will be of the same mind? Why not protect them where they are? It can be done easier than on the river Arkansas. It is an important inquiry, how the tide of emigration now sets, and how it will be likely to set in reference to the Arkansas country. For myself, I very much suspect, that the Cherokees, after removing to their trans-Mississippi country, will find themselves hemmed in by a growing population; that they will find great roads made through their country, to be travelled by whites; and that they will live exposed to all the vices and all the apprehensions which now beset them, and will lose all the advantages which they have hitherto gained.

---

* Hon. William Reed of Marblehead, a member of the Committee, and formerly a member of Congress from Massachusetts.

A letter from father Gambold, which came to hand this day, mentions that Mr. Hicks and others, had gone to Washington, "to try to obtain permission *to remain on their own land.*" He adds, "May the Lord be with them and influence our government to do them justice!" If government are now disposed to do them justice, they can do it more easily by quieting them in their present possessions, than in any other way. This deserves very serious consideration by all concerned.

I am sorry to see in this morning's Centinel (16th) a notice of your mission, furnished by some meddling correspondent. I suppose you reach Washington this morning. May the Divine blessing attend your exertions.

The representations of the Cherokee delegation and the arguments urged by Dr. Worcester and other friends, were not without effect. The Hon. John C. Calhoun was then Secretary of War, and the negotiation, on the part of the United States, was conducted by him. It terminated in a treaty highly gratifying to the Cherokees. The preamble distinctly recognized the wish of a majority of the Cherokees to remain in the land of their fathers, and their favorable inclination towards civilization and improvement. The stipulations of the treaty were intended to gratify this wish, and to encourage and meet this inclination. In consideration of the assignment of lands in the Arkansas country to part of the nation who had emigrated, a large cession of territory to the United States was agreed on, and the remainder secured to the original proprietors forever. And of the ceded lands an appropriation was made of about 100,000 acres, for a perpetual school fund, for the benefit of the Cherokees remaining in the land of their fathers. The ratification of this treaty was regarded by Mr. Evarts and those who acted with him as a most auspicious event.

"It is auspicious," says the Report of the Committee of the Board, "as it shows, on the part of the government, not only a favorable disposition towards the Indians, but also a conviction that they can be and must be civilized; and a settled and generous purpose to patronize and aid the benevolent work. It is auspicious, as it provides funds which eventually will not be small, for promoting the design. And it is auspicious in the influence which it has, and which it will have, upon the Cherokees and other Indian nations, and upon the American community. It marks, indeed, a new and propitious era."

"The success of this delegation," say the missionaries in their journal, "has raised the hopes of the nation." And speaking of one of the delegation, an intelligent and devoted convert,* they add: "While an entire exchange of country was thought of as a measure which they might be pressed to adopt, his spirit was often borne down with discouragement; but since they have succeeded in having part of their country guaranteed to them anew, and so many Christian people engaged for their instruction, that hope which was almost expiring, is raised to confident expectation. His heart is overflowing with joy, gratitude, and praise to God, whom he is ever ready to acknowledge as the *Giver of every good and perfect gift.*"

Dr. Worcester's parting address to the delegates at Washington, was read in open council, and was received with evident and great satisfaction. The desire and the spirit of improvement throughout the nation, as a mass, received a remarkable impulse.

This view of the policy of government and these hopes received additional confirmation a few weeks after the conclusion of the Treaty. On the 27th of May the President of the United States, (Mr. Monroe) being on a tour through the southern states, visited Brainerd, and gave both to the missionaries and the Cherokees the most gratifying proofs of his confidence and good will. It was evident that he was ready to act heartily for the benefit of the nation, in the spirit of the treaty. He expressed great satisfaction with the plan and success of the mission, and gave orders for the erection of larger and more commodious buildings for its accommodation, with directions to the governmental agent to pay the expense. And this was not the policy of the Executive alone. It was also that of the National Legislature; and an appropriation of $10,000 a year was soon after placed at the disposal of the President for its promotion.

---

* Charles R. Hicks.

With such evidences that the policy of government was settled, and that efforts to instruct and civilize the Indians would receive from the Executive and from Congress, not only favorable consideration, but also liberal aid, the plans of the Board for the benefit of the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws were enlarged, and the missions prosecuted with new enterprize and spirit. These facts in the early history of the missions being remembered, the feelings of Mr. Evarts, when, ten years after, the action of government was suddenly changed, the missionary establishments—the schools and churches that had grown up, threatened with utter ruin, and the tribes themselves with destruction, will be better understood.

Another source of anxiety to Mr. Evarts at this period was the state of the treasury of the Board. As early as December, 1818, in a letter to Dr. Worcester, he speaks of discouragements in this respect, and adds: "The indications by which I judge that the missionary spirit is declining are these: There appear to be fewer new associations formed than heretofore—the remittances from old associations are smaller, Dr. T.* thinks without a single exception—and the aggregate of donations is less. On my return from the south the conversation of Christians through the country was full of exultation; one would as soon have thought of the National Bank becoming insolvent, as of a deficiency in our receipts;—but the whole seems to have evaporated."

A few months later he says to another correspondent: "The business of our Board is becoming more and more arduous, difficult, and responsible. Unless God be with us, we shall not only do nothing effectual; but we shall come to nothing. Let us be thankful for what we have received, and plead that we may feel our dependence more and more."

"You can hardly be aware," he writes to a missionary in March, 1820, "of the serious embarrassments with which our

---

* Mr. E.'s assistant.

Treasury is threatened. There is an amazing pressure for money throughout the country; many Christians are weak and faint in their missionary feelings and exertions; other institutions of a like kind with ours are springing up. I mention these things not to discourage you, but that you and we may feel more and more our dependence on God for the means of doing any thing; and that you may pray earnestly for the excitement of a missionary spirit. Be assured that we have very solemn questions of duty in our Prudential Committee in reference to the extent of our missionary operations. Economy is peculiarly necessary in every department."

In the midst of these pecuniary difficulties, the health of Dr. Worcester became so poor that resort to a milder climate was deemed necessary. Accordingly in January, 1821, he took passage at Boston for New Orleans, in the hope that he should be able to visit the Indian missions. He arrived at New Orleans early in February. After spending some weeks in that city, he ascended the river to Natchez, visited some of the mission stations, in still declining health, and died at Brainerd, in the Cherokee nation, on the 7th of June. To Mr. Evarts this was a severe bereavement. For more than ten years, they had labored together in the cause of missions, and for a yet longer time had been in habits of the most unreserved and cordial intercourse, in relation to subjects of the highest moment to the well-being of the churches and of man. There was cherished between them the most affectionate regard and the highest mutual esteem. Especially after they became associated in the service of missions to the heathen, the hours which they spent together were frequent, and rendered precious by perfect sympathy in their labors, trials, and successes.

When Dr. Worcester left Boston, the duties of clerk of the Prudential Committee and of Corresponding Secretary were assigned to Mr. Evarts, with instructions to procure such assistance as might be necessary; and this accumulation of responsibility, commenced at a time of peculiar pressure and anxiety, was continued till the meeting of the Board in September, 1822.

A few extracts follow from the correspondence of Mr. Evarts during this period:

TO MR. WILLIAM GOODELL.*

January 19, 1821.

As you are about to commence an agency in the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with the benevolent wish of inviting the co-operation of all classes of persons, in this great Christian community, to the noble work of evangelizing the heathen, permit me to offer a few suggestions.

The application to individuals, or the public, in behalf of any charity, is, in some respects, painful; and the mind of an agent, employed in such a business, needs to be sustained by powerful considerations.

Let it therefore be habitually fixed in your mind, that the work of missions, in all its parts, is peculiarly pleasing to God; that it is the very work in which the Saviour himself spent the days of his ministry; in which the Apostles labored and died; and which will at last be effectual to the renovation of the world.

Let it also be fixed firmly in your mind, that all successful attempts to obtain donations for the cause of missions do, in fact, promote the happiness of the donors; and that they thus promote it very much in proportion to the sacrifices made for the cause. No sacrifice is made, none can be made, from sincere desire to glorify God by honoring the institutions of the Saviour, without adding to the temporal happiness of the person who makes the sacrifice. This is an invariable law of the divine administration. It is declared, in many different forms, by our Saviour himself, and is in perfect accordance with matter of fact, as it falls under our daily observation. The man who gives fifty dollars is certain, if he acts from noble, generous, and truly benevolent motives, to derive much greater enjoyment from it, than if, with the same ability, he had given five dollars, or one dollar. The laboring man, or hired girl, who makes an effort to save money, and gives five or ten dollars for the cause of Christ, as many have done, in various parts of the Christian world, no doubt receives a most abundant recompense in this life.

It follows that an agent, who solicits benefactions to the missionary cause, is in reality a *public benefactor*, in many different respects; but particularly to those whom he may induce to make liberal offerings to the Lord.

---

* Rev. William Goodell, now missionary at Constantinople.

An agent should always *feel*, and let it be seen that he *feels*, that the cause is infinitely worthy of any sacrifice that can be made to it. And it should be always understood, that the cause is not only worthy of sacrifices, but *demands* them, and must have them. Do Christians, does any generous minded man, wish to have it otherwise? Is it desired that no sacrifices should be made for the greatest object, which ever invited the attention of men or angels—an object, to accomplish which the Son of God came down from heaven? Does any person, who claims the name of a man, wish that a few empty desires, and a few trifling donations, should be sufficient to provide for the spiritual wants of the world. Suppose it should be made apparent, that every man in Christendom was bound to labor, in his proper employment, ten days in each year, for the sole object of sending the Gospel to foreign nations, and the most distant parts of the world, would it be a subject of regret? Should not every person, male and female, of every age, rejoice in the privilege of helping to bring forward the days of emancipation from the bondage of Satan?

As to proving the great duty of sending the Gospel to all nations, the Scriptures are so full and explicit, that there is no need of calling your attention to the subject particularly. But it is manifest, on the plainest principles of benevolence, that, if the Gospel is a blessing, it ought to be communicated as extensively as possible. No man, but an open infidel, will deny the Gospel to be a blessing; but if the Gospel is true, it is *every thing*, and no sacrifices to extend its influence can be too great.

What the Bible enjoins, in regard to the promulgation of the Gospel, facts abundantly support and confirm. No question in morals, or any business of life, can be more perfectly settled by facts, than it is already settled, that Christian missions are now effecting a most desirable and salutary change in many parts of the world. Witness South Africa, Sierra Leone, the Society Islands, Ceylon, the Coromandel Coast, New Holland, New Zealand, the West Indies, Greenland, India near the Ganges, and the country of the Cherokees and Choctaws.

But objections will be started: Some one will say, how do I know that the money which I give will be faithfully applied? In answer to this question there are various weighty considerations, which I have not time to state. I simply observe that every donor may have all the evidence that his money is faithfully applied, which it is possible to have that any human agency is faithfully executed; and much greater evidence than is usually obtained, that any trust is faithfully performed. A person gives a sum, great or small, for the aid of this cause. The sum is acknowledged by a formal receipt from the agent, or proper officer. It is also acknowledged in the monthly official list of donations; which list is, in effect, five thousand receipts scattered all over the country, and read by thirty thousand people perhaps; and among them the donor and his friends. The amount of the donations in a month is stated; and the sum of the twelve monthly lists, is exhibited to the Auditor, as the amount of donations received during the year. Every donation is entered at large on the books of the treasury, immediately on its reception. The Auditor examines these entries, and ascertains, that the sums thus placed to the credit of the Board, amount to the same as the sums published. Thus much for the proof, that all donations are entered to the credit of the Board.

As to payments from the Treasury, they are all made by orders of the Prudential Committee, or of the Board. The Committee authorize the expenditures and see the vouchers. All the accounts, comprising every cent of the expenditures and descending to the minute particulars, are read at the annual meeting of the Board, and approved by that body. The Auditor examines all the accounts, ascertains their correctness, and sees that all the vouchers are correct and sufficient. It may not be improper here to state, that during the ten years of the operations of the Board, the Auditor has never discovered an error of a single cent in the Treasurer's accounts. The office of Auditor has been discharged by three gentlemen in succession, who are thoroughly versed in mercantile transactions, and who are not members of the Board, or of the Committee.

When money is remitted to the several stations, the Christian public have all the security, which can rationally be expected, that it will be faithfully applied. The missionaries have given all the proof which can be required, that they have the *best interests of the cause* at heart. They wish to make their several stations as flourishing as possible; and, for this purpose, they are strongly prompted to make the money go as far as possible—in other words, to practise the best economy.

It is objected that some of our missions are *too far off.* But we are taught in the parable of the good Samaritan, that every man is our *neighbor* to whom we can possibly do good. And it is demonstrably clear, that we can do good to the heathen in Asia, in greater numbers, and at smaller expense, than to the heathen any where else. As to all the purposes of charity, the children in Ceylon and Bombay, and the heathen generally in those regions, are at our doors.

It is objected that foreign missions draw money from our country—particularly, that they take away our specie. The proper answer to this is, that the great and proper use of specie is to send it wherever it is wanted, with a view to obtain any good object. It is right to send it for tea and silk; but can these compare with the value of the Gospel? Again: The first year after the peace, it was computed that from three million to six million Spanish dollars were sent from Massachusetts—that is, the sea-ports in that state,—beyond the Cape of Good Hope, for the various kinds of merchandize in those parts of the world. The most that the Board ever sent, in specie, in one year, was fourteen thousand dollars: that is, for *every dollar* which the Board sent in any one year, the merchants sent probably not less than *three hundred dollars*, in the year after the peace. The last remittance of specie which we made, was one of four thousand five hundred dollars; and the same vessel took about two hundred thousand dollars for merchants: that is, for *one dollar*, which the Board remitted, the same vessel took more than *forty dollars* for silks, &c. and it has not been an uncommon thing for a single ship to carry to India more money in specie, than the Board have expended, in all their operations, in ten years; and more than three times as much as the Board has remitted, in specie, within that whole time.

There are many other objections, which you will be prepared to meet. For the present I conclude.

TO MESSRS. PARSONS AND FISK, MISSIONARIES TO PALESTINE.

Boston, February 19, 1821.

We are greatly apprehensive that our missions will all suffer for want of funds. Most of them are suffering now, and our resources to meet their various wants are very small. Pray, therefore, pray earnestly for an increase of the spirit of self-denial in your native country.

The poverty of our treasury, while it lasts, will effectually prevent our sending missionaries to Smyrna, or any where else. When this poverty will be removed, I cannot pretend to conjecture. It will be when the Lord of missions pleases; but not, I think, till he has brought us to a lower ebb, and made us feel that we are nothing and He is all. It would indeed be a melancholy thing, if Christians in this country should not be deemed worthy to take any considerable part in the conversion of the world. But the Lord will select his own instruments, and honor whom he pleases as the messengers of his mercy to a perishing world.

You will see, by our publications, that we do not intend to betray the cause by lowering the claims of charity, or suffering the community to remain ignorant of our necessities.

An exertion has been made in this town, which will gratify you much. In consequence of the representations made in Mr. Williamson's* letter, on the advantages of a printing establishment at Smyrna and another at Jerusalem, a subscription has been opened to raise three thousand dollars a year, for five years, for the sole purpose of keeping in operation a printing establishment for Western Asia, under the care of our Board and its missionaries. We have held two meetings on the subject; the last of them before the reception of your journals, which so abundantly illustrate the suitableness of a press in vigorous operation to aid in the great work of conveying the Gospel to the millions in those countries who are ignorant of salvation and debased by superstition.

Keep us well informed as to the best way of promoting this cause, and by the Divine blessing funds for the printing establishment will be abundant.

Dr. Worcester is absent on a voyage to New Orleans and a visit to the Indian missions for the benefit of his health and of the missions. His life and services are invaluable. Pray much for him and for us all.

---

* British Chaplain at Malta.

TO REV. CYRUS KINGSBURY.

Boston, March 8, 1821.

Providence has restrained our means, and we are driven to the alternative of withholding expected supplies from the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Arkansas missions, or of suffering our brethren in the East to remain destitute of support till they shall draw upon us at such a disadvantage and to such an amount, that we cannot pay their bills, and all our operations, our credit, and our reputation, as a Board, come to a dead stand together. I think, therefore, that your buildings at Mayhew and your operations in the Six Towns must be suspended, unless they can be carried on without drawing much from our Treasury, or running into debt. If the Indians should be disappointed and discouraged, the evil seems inevitable.

How great donations may be obtained by Dr. Worcester in Louisiana and Mississippi, cannot be estimated by me, as I know not very definitely the situation of those countries. I wish that he and Mr. B. may receive a great deal. In my letter to Dr. Worcester of this morning, I have expressed the opinion, that not more than five thousand dollars can be paid from the treasury for all the Indian missions between this day and the first of September, without danger of great embarrassment.

My letter of July 3d, I considered, and I presume you considered, as a full and fair warning of the embarrassments which you and your brethren might be compelled to meet. In that letter I regretted that our recent remittance to India was so scanty; yet we have not sent a single dollar since that day, and in the shipment soon to be made we must send less than half as much as would be desirable.

The liberality of your laborers in making donations for the use of the mission, is very pleasing. If all the laborers in our country would imitate the example, the effect would be grand.

While the Lord is trying us in various ways, let us not forget to praise his name for what he has done; and let us not faint, nor be discouraged. He will accomplish great and glorious things in his own time, and with such agents and instruments as he chooses.

Do not suppose, my dear sir, that we feel unmindful of your cares, labors, and sacrifices; of the sickness, and pain, and bereavement, which you have experienced. We sympathize most tenderly with you in all these things. We praise God that you have had so much strength, resolution, courage, and perseverance. Let these virtues be in you and abound. Pray for us, that we may have wisdom and fidelity, and that God may vouchsafe his merciful direction. For myself I feel an amazing responsibility, especially during the absence of Dr. Worcester. Every sentence which is now printed in the Herald, respecting our Board and its objects, needs to be weighed with care. The correspondence with contributors and donors is very great; and, beside this, the labor of providing for all our stations is not small. We have no adequate provision for clerk hire, &c., and I expect soon to be left destitute of all help of this kind, except what I can employ occasionally. I do not mention these things because I wish the labors of my office less. On the contrary, I wish them so much greater, that the Christian public would make ample provision for clerks, porters, &c. This will some time be the case, if the world is ever converted by human instrumentality. In the mean time let us be willing to wear out as fast as duty requires, taking all prudent means to preserve health and life.

TO REV. ARD HOYT.*

Boston, March 14, 1821.

You will be aware, from what I have already written, that it would be highly improper to think of sending out more laborers while our present embarrassments continue. We cannot send them without great expense—we have not the money—we have not time to select suitable persons—and our feeble powers must be directed to save from sinking the missions already in existence and the missionaries already on the ground.

So much writing as I have been obliged to do, has produced a weakness in my breast, which threatens at least to suspend my labors.

---

* Missionary at Brainerd.

The whole care of the Missionary Herald, with my increasing correspondence, and a thousand little concerns of all the missions, is more than I can well bear. I rejoice to labor in this cause, and to wear out in it. The Lord enable me so to apportion my attempts to serve him, that I may be an instrument of accomplishing something for his glory.

TO MESSRS. PARSONS AND FISK.

Boston, March 30, 1821.

You will not forget, dear brethren, that we have but one life in which to do good; that every opportunity is precious; that the eyes of the world are upon you; that soon we must all appear at the judgment seat of Christ.

The greater part of our missions have been sifted as wheat. Let all who are engaged in the great work of sending the Gospel abroad, look well to their motives and their measures. Oh may the Lord interfere for a fallen, ruined world, and fill the earth with his glory.

TO DR. WORCESTER.

Boston, April 2d, 1821.

My two letters to Mr. Hoyt will show that our Indian missions must not draw on me as they have done. Rather than do this, they must,

1. Dismiss all their hired help, without exception.
2. Dismiss their schools.

It is to be understood that, before either of these measures are resorted to, they must suspend all their new establishments.

If these missions can keep along without drawing on me till next fall, and without running in debt, I have hope that our treasury may then begin to supply them again.

After the shipments of money to the East which are now preparing, and which are still quite inadequate, our expenditures since the last annual meeting will have exceeded our receipts by more than ten thousand dollars; that is, full half the permanent fund is exhausted; and we shall soon be totally unable to meet drafts, if they come in so rapidly, and our receipts are not increased.

You will see by the April Herald, that the receipts for the month preceding March 21st, were $5,487 65. Let us give thanks. It will require similar receipts till next January, to enable us to meet our engagements. For the last ten days the prospects are not so promising; but I have observed some striking tokens that the Lord will carry on his own work.

TO REV. CALVIN CHAPIN, D. D.

Boston, April 17, 1821.

For the qualifications of assistant missionaries, I refer you to a note in Panoplist, vol. xv, page 377, August, 1819. That note was written with more deliberation than I can now apply to the subject; and what reminds me of it at present is, that it has been recently copied into the London Missionary Register with approbation. I add the following hints, which you can suggest to applicants according to your wisdom, and in your own manner.

1st. All missionaries or assistants, sent with the advice and patronage of our Board, must be entirely under our direction; and this must be so thoroughly understood, that they can never plead ignorance, or feel themselves at liberty to disown the obligation.

2d. It is a solemn and awful truth, that there never has been a single mission, consisting of any considerable number of individuals, in which some of the members have not altogether deceived themselves, and disappointed the hopes of their friends. I mean, I have never heard of such a mission, if the history was minutely known. If there is any exception, it is among the Moravians. Let these facts be pondered by every man who thinks of offering himself, or of recommending another.

3d. No man can tell how great a change it makes when the pressure of civil society, and especially of Christian society, is taken off.

4th. It is absolutely impossible for an applicant to know the real trials of a missionary life. What then shall be done to ascertain whether he can bear those trials? He must have been put to some trials here. His character must, as far as possible, be a *tried character*.

5th. After piety, missionary qualifications stand in the following order: good temper, commonly called good nature,—a habit of disinterestedness, or attention to the wants of others—cheerfulness

—perseverance—energy. They are all necessary to a well qualified missionary; the two first are indispensable to the comfort of mission families. No man knows the importance of good temper, (I have it from experienced judges,) who has not been a long voyage, nor seen a large number of persons huddled together with slender conveniences.

Be assured, dear sir, amid the multifarious cares of superintending missionary concerns, the most oppressing is the apprehension of defection or incompetency in the persons sent out, after every possible scrutiny. We are a frail and feeble race,—earthen vessels, many of which get dashed to pieces in handling. Yet it has pleased God that such vessels should be employed to communicate his Gospel. Let us humble ourselves before God, while we praise him for what he has done.

The following extract of a letter received by Mr. Evarts from Dr. Worcester about this time, is copied as a beautiful expression of the devotedness of both to the service of missions, and of their mutual confidence in each other. After speaking of the opportunity afforded by his voyage for self-examination and a review of his life, especially in respect to its more public employments, the writer says:

"One thing is consummated and settled in my mind, and that is, a full and delightful conviction, that the cause of missions has never held too high a place in my estimation, nor engaged too large a share of my attention. This is saying nothing, and less than nothing. It transcends—immeasurably transcends—the highest estimation of every created mind. And what is the sacrifice of health—what the sacrifice of life—to such a cause? Be the event what it may—recovered health, or early death—I never can regret what I have done in this work;—but only that I have done so little, and with a heart so torpid.

"Though it may seem good to our Master and Lord to lay me aside, you, my dearest friend, will, I devoutly hope and pray, be continued in the work for many years. I know well that you too have found it arduous; and that you have long been, and still are, urgently pressed by earthly considerations, to relinquish the situation, which, so much to the satisfaction of the friends of missions, you have for nine years held. It will not grieve you in the world to come, if it shall appear that you have given up earthly objects of great seeming magnitude and interest, that many might be brought from the confines of eternal darkness to the abodes of immortal light. The world has votaries enough—enough who are deluded by its shows and its promises; and who, to the neglect of their own eternal interests and those of their fellow beings, give themselves wholly to its fascinations and pursuits. Let the few whose minds and hearts have been raised to higher views and aspirations, exhibit full and unquestionable proof of their heavenly birth, their immeasurable superiority to the world, and their unreserved and unregretted devotedness to Him who hath called them unto his kingdom and glory. If, for the unsubstantial, and momentary objects of earthly pursuit, the children of this world eagerly traverse land and sea, encounter dangers of every form, and put health and life and whatever is dear to them at stake; what labors, or sacrifices, or sufferings, should not the children of light ever hold themselves ready to yield, when the imperishable interests of the kingdom of light are to be promoted? The world yet lieth in wickedness—in darkness and corruption. The Gospel is the only remedy—the means prescribed by sovereign wisdom for its recovery. To communicate the Gospel to all the families of the earth, is a work to be done by those who have felt its power, and know its value. They have no time to lose—no advantages to be neglected—no talents to be held unoccupied."

TO DR. WORCESTER.

Boston, May 5, 1821.

Your letter to Mr. Cornelius from "Doak's, Choctaw Wilderness," came to hand yesterday and he kindly sent me a copy last evening.

We were greatly surprised and distressed not to hear from you in relation to your health at Natchez. Your letter to me, dated March 23d, at that place, came to hand April 20th. Not hearing any thing more, I began to fear that you were detained at Natchez by severe sickness, and that you preferred not to write, nor to permit any one else to write, till a crisis should have arrived. Your letter of April 6th to Mr. Cornelius, gives us reason to hope you will get through the wilderness better than we had feared. But our time and strength and opportunities of usefulness, are all in the Lord's hands,—a truth which you doubtless feel and rejoice in, and from which you derive constant motives to labor when strength is afforded, and to submission when strength is taken away.

In regard to our various concerns, I have nothing material to say, more than you will have found in my letters to Brainerd, Eliot, and Talony, and in the Missionary Herald,—the May number of which was put into the mail two days ago. We all feel a deep interest in your restoration to health and to prolonged and increased activity in the best of causes. May the Lord direct to the wisest and best means for that end; and may the friends of missions derive a profitable lesson from the partial suspension of labors which they esteem so valuable. We think of making an effort in this town in behalf of the Board, within a few weeks. May the Lord prosper it.

Accept my affectionate salutation. If the Lord should call you to suffer continued weakness and weariness, may you be sustained by the same grace which was sufficient for the great Apostle of the Gentiles, in his various trials and wanderings for the cause of Christ."

In letters to other correspondents, Mr. Evarts expressed more lively apprehensions respecting the result of his friend's sickness.

"We are distressed (he says, June 6th,) with apprehensions for the health and life of Dr. Worcester. Our last date from him was May 6th, in the heart of the Choctaw nation, at Mayhew. He had been very low, but was somewhat better. The Lord of missions reigneth, and will accomplish his holy and glorious purposes; but we cannot see what we shall do, if this pillar of the missionary cause in our country should be removed."

And again, June 21:

"The threatening sickness of Dr. Worcester has filled the hearts of many with anxiety. Should he be entirely removed from his earthly labors, we see not how his place could be supplied. The suspension of them is deeply felt. But I would not indulge a murmur. The Lord of missions knows who are to be his agents, and he will bring them forward in due time."

The affliction that he feared, was at hand. At the date of the last extract, his fellow laborer and friend, with whom he had been so intimately connected in the cause dearest to the hearts of both from the beginning, and which owed its form and its success so much to their mutual counsels and cares, had already fallen asleep in Jesus. He had reached Brainerd, where he died amid the tears and prayers of his missionary friends, and where his body was consigned to the grave,—adding a new and peculiar interest, in the eye of the Christian traveller, in after years, to a lovely spot that was already the centre of many hallowed associations.[*]

TO REV. ARD HOYT.

Boston, July 9, 1821.

"Your letter accompanying the journals of the mission, and giving an account of the departure of our beloved friend and my highly revered associate, came to hand on Saturday. We learned this distressing event by a letter from Mr. Hall, dated June 10th, and received 29th, the same day that your letter of June 5th reached Mrs. Worcester. She was therefore informed of the imminent danger of her dear husband in the morning, and of his death in the evening of the same day.

We had many gloomy anticipations respecting the issue of his sickness; but as Providence had wonderfully brought him on his way, we were not without hopes of his reaching home in safety, and being able to promote the missionary cause by his counsels, if not by his active labors. The Christian community feel the loss very deeply and very extensively; our Board will mourn with peculiar feeling over the grave of an agent so invaluable, and an associate so beloved; and as to myself, where can I find, on this side the grave, such a counsellor and such a friend? How this breach is to be repaired we know not; but we do know that the

---

[*] In 1844, the mission having been long before removed, the remains of Dr. Worcester were disinterred and carried to Salem, the scene of his principal labors on earth, where they now rest in the Harmony Grove cemetery.

Lord of missions is able to raise up such agents as he will acknowledge and bless. Pray much and earnestly on this subject. Pray that God would glorify his name by making it known for the salvation of many heathen.

The funeral solemnities on account of the death of this great and good man will be attended at Salem on the 12th. The Rev. Dr. Woods is to preach.

I want to write to you at great length on this subject, but I cannot possibly do it now. Would time permit, I should propose many questions. I hope you will preserve every thing which the departed saint said in his last days. Your journal is faithful, no doubt, and very interesting. It prompts to many questions, as we should gladly catch every whisper from such a man, on such an embassy, and just on the verge of heaven."

But in this season of trial and affliction, Mr. Evarts was not without peculiar and great consolations. At the close of March, and again in June, he received letters from the Sandwich Islands, giving an account of the arrival and favorable reception of the missionaries there, and of the wonderful providences by which the way of the Lord had been prepared. In the singular events that had led to the establishment of this mission, he had from the first taken the liveliest interest; and the preparation and fitting out of the first company of missionaries had cost him months of care and labor.

TO MISSIONARIES AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Boston, July 9, 1821.

"This will probably be the first communication from our Board, which will come to your hand, having been written after your arrival and reception were known in this country. On opening your various packages, you will perceive a deficiency—more to be deplored by you all, than any other which you could anticipate. The hand of our beloved and revered Dr. Worcester writes no more with pen and ink in this vale of tears. It lies cold and powerless in the mission burying ground at Brainerd. His mind is no more employed in devising and directing missionary enterprises on earth; but we trust it is employed in noble services and with ineffable delight in the presence of that Saviour whose devoted servant he was.

We received the news of this afflicting event only ten days ago. Of the illness and journey of our departed friend, you will receive intelligence in the Missionary Herald, which brings down the history of his journey to May 25th, on which day he arrived at Brainerd. He lingered in extreme debility till the morning of June 7th, when he was released from the pains and cares of mortality, and as he fondly anticipated, we trust on the best grounds, was received to the arms of the Redeemer.

Your letters and journals by the Levant reached my hand on the 21st of March, a day which I shall long remember with peculiar sensations. With what avidity your communications were read, you will easily discern from the many publications which you will receive by this and other opportunities.

And here let me observe, that what you see in the Missionary Herald relative to your mission, appearing as editorial matter, you may consider as written with more deliberation than I can write in a letter, and as designed, so far as it is applicable, to express my mind and the mind of the Prudential Committee. And this will doubtless be the case, so long as the Herald shall be published by the Board, and conducted by its officers. This consideration will, at times, remove the appearance of neglect on certain topics which are sufficiently discussed there.

For the various kind interpositions of Providence in your behalf—for the establishment of the mission, the favorable regards of the natives—the commencement of schools, the general health and harmony of the mission families, and the respect and confidence and generous aid of foreigners, we bless the God and Father of our Lord and Savior. To Him be the praise and the glory. Amen.

We are aware, dear brethren, of the many trials, temptations, and dangers that beset your path. We know that you need the divine direction at every step of your progress. Many prayers are continually offered in your behalf; and we hope that the same divine goodness which has befriended you, in so signal a manner, will continue to guard you and make you greatly honored instruments in the promotion of the cause of Christ among the heathen.

This letter was written in haste, after nine at night, after the close of a laborious day. I must close it, assuring you that it bears my cordial regards for the welfare of you all, and my particular and affectionate salutations to you individually."

The circumstances of Dr. Worcester's death are more particularly stated in a brief memoir, prepared by Mr. Evarts for the Missionary Herald. Noticing his departure from Mayhew, he says—

" The next morning he set out for Brainerd; and was accompanied by Mr. Kingsbury to Columbus, a distance of eighteen miles, where he arrived with little fatigue. Doct. Pride, who met him at New Orleans, had been with him three months, and was about to attend him to the north, was taken ill of a fever a hundred miles from Columbus. After waiting three days, it was found that Doct. Pride could not proceed, and he subsequently returned to Mayhew. This must have been a severe disappointment to both. A stranger was hired; and the weary languishing traveller proceeded on his way to Brainerd, where he arrived sooner than could have been expected, considering his weakness, and the difficulties of the journey.

"On the 25th of May he was carried in the arms of the missionries, from his vehicle to the mission-house. Soon after his arrival, it was observed to him, (we quote from the Missionary Journal,) that "he had got almost through the wilderness." He replied, " This may be true in more respects than one. God is gracious. He has sustained me, as it were by miracle, thus far, and granted me one great desire of my soul, in bringing me to Brainerd; and if it be agreeable to his holy purposes, that I should leave my poor remains here, his will be done." He said further, " I had rather leave my poor remains here, than at any other place."

" On the following Sabbath, " the members of the church, and some of the congregation were introduced to him, at his request; and being raised in his bed, he addressed them in few words. His address, though short, was peculiarly feeling and interesting." He afterwards requested that the children might come in. " He took each by the hand as they passed the bed. Having all passed round in procession, they stood and sang a hymn. He was affected to tears most of the time. After the hymn, he addressed them in a most affectionate manner, which, in turn, melted them to tears."

" His complaints became more alarming almost daily; and, on the second of June, he desired that a letter might be written to his wife, of which he dictated a part, giving a brief notice of his journey from Mayhew to Brainerd; requesting Mr. Hoyt to write as he thought proper, with respect to the probable issue of the sickness.

On the 5th the journal says: " Our dear friend is fast going to the eternal world. In the morning we gave up all hopes of his recovery. For short intervals, during the day, he has been in a state of mental derangement; but, even in this state, his mind was employed on the great subject of building churches, and extending the dear Redeemer's kingdom.

"'6. During the day he has been insensible to pain; and, to appearance, spent much of his time in prayer. He said, if he were to choose, he had rather go and be with Jesus, than dwell in the flesh. He did not regret engaging in the missionary cause; but rejoiced that he had been enabled to do something toward this great object."

"'After an affectionate lamentation, the journal of the 7th records the afflicting event, which had been anticipated. "This morning, about 7 o'clock, he cast his eyes towards heaven, and smiling, resigned his spirit to God. Without the least apparent pain or struggle, he fell asleep in the arms of Jesus."

"Two days afterwards the last offices of kindness were performed; a procession followed the corpse to the grave; and Mr. Hoyt preached a funeral sermon from Psalm cxii, 6. *The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.*

"Thus departed from this life a distinguished servant of the Lord Jesus, who had lived for many years with his eye intent on heaven, and who brought down blessings upon his fellow men by his disinterested services and his fervent prayers: highly honored in the circumstances of his death;—on missionary ground, bearing his last testimony to the glory of the missionary cause; surrounded by his brethren engaged in this divine employment, and by a church gathered from pagans of the wilderness under his own superintendence; the hymns of converted Cherokees vibrating in his ear, as a prelude to the song of Moses and the Lamb.

"Who that contemplates the preceding character, and especially, who that was intimately acquainted with the original, does not see the exalting and purifying tendency of the cause of missions? What other cause is so grand in its extent, so beneficent in its design, so sure in its issue, so glorious in its triumphs? Compared with the mighty interests of the kingdom of Christ, the concerns of earthly monarchies are small and trifling. It is indeed wonderful that feeble men, with their sins and imperfections, should be employed in a work which might well occupy the powers of seraphs and archangels. Since, however, it has pleased God to make some of our race the instruments of his mercy to others, we might well conclude that a faithful discharge of such an office would conduce to the highest elevation of the human character. So indeed we find it. The names of Brainerd, Swartz, Buchanan, Martyn, stand as memorials of illustrious virtue. With these, and such as these, the name of WORCESTER will be inscribed, as an example to future generations."

These impressive paragraphs breathe no mere evanescent feeling. The character of his departed friend was a treasure to Mr.

Evarts; and on a subsequent occasion, he paid to it the following tribute, as just as it is beautiful and touching:

"Amid numerous indications of the divine favor toward the cause in which the members of this Board are embarked, one event has transpired, which comes home to each of our hearts with all the poignancy of a personal affliction while it rests upon us, and upon the friends of missions generally, with all the weight of a public calamity. Our beloved and revered Corresponding Secretary has finished his earthly course,—a course of pre-eminent usefulness, dignity, and Christian virtue, terminating at the seat of a highly favored mission, and in a manner most consoling to survivors, and honorable to the work which had so long employed his best affections, and received the benefit of his efficient services.

"It seems not less the dictate of justice and propriety, than of feeling, to advert, on this occasion, to the many excellent qualities by which our departed friend and associate was distinguished. The strictly religious integrity of his character, his disinterestedness in promoting the welfare of the church, his great prudence and sagacity in the management of important concerns, his habitual piety in acknowledging God as the only foundation of hope and the only author of success in attempts to meliorate the condition of man,—his enlarged benevolence, the genuine effect of Christian principle operating on a powerful understanding,—his strong and inviolable attachment to the missionary cause,—and his assiduous and laborious attention to the duties of his office, will not be forgotten by any who were intimately acquainted with him; and, least of all, by those who were so happy as to be associated with him in exertions for the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom. Of his superior intelligence and his great practical wisdom, the world has abundant proofs in various writings, composed by him as a functionary of this Board, and published by its authority. His impressive exhibition of motives to activity in the divine work of sending the gospel to the heathen; his animating appeals to the liberality, and to the kind and generous feelings of the Christian public; his convincing representations of the ability of the American churches to take a vigorous and active part in the noblest of all charities; his earnest exhortations to the performance of acknowledged duties; and his easy and gentle, but complete refutation of common objections, place him among the ablest and most successful advocates of missions. No man of discernment, who admits the gospel to be a remedial system, intended for the salvation of mankind, can read the reports and addresses which proceeded from his pen, without a full conviction that the claims of the heathen world upon Christendom are irresistible.

"Your Committee cannot refrain from expressing their deep sense of the great and peculiar loss which they have experienced by this painful bereavement. They had long enjoyed the most unreserved intimacy with the deceased. In numerous consultations, of a very solemn and sacred character, they had witnessed his uncommon industry, his superior judgment, and his fidelity in the service of his Divine Master. Uniformly kind, obliging, and respectful to his brethren of the Committee, he secured their cordial attachment; and, in the lapse of years, the affectionate interchange of thoughts and feelings ripened into the tenderest personal friendship. An intercourse thus formed and thus cemented, could not be suddenly broken off without tearing asunder some of the strongest ligaments which bind the hearts of men together. The Committee doubt not they shall receive the condolence of their brethren on this severe affliction. Indeed, many assurances of heartfelt sympathy have already been communicated from respected friends of missions in different and remote parts of our country, who were not acquainted with the man whose memory they revere, except by his public character and his benevolent labors. The Committee, in their turn, and in unison with the feelings of the Christian public generally, condole with the afflicted family, from which its earthly support, and counsellor, and guide, has been suddenly removed.

"But the family and all other survivors have great and heavenly consolations, while they contemplate the bright example and the favored exit of our departed friend and brother. He is not dead, but translated to a new and glorious life. As his earthly tabernacle was about to be dissolved, his love for the cause of Christ became more intense, his piety more elevated, his trust in God unshaken. He neither *lived to himself*, nor *died to himself*. His life was a series of beneficent actions, begun from principle, pursued with ardor, and completed with holy triumph. His removal was in strict accordance with his progressive advancement in holiness,—a seemly continuation of the same uniform history;—the links which connect the heavenly state with this vale of tears, shining with peculiar lustre. Though our dull organs of sense will never again hear his voice or see his revered form, yet he speaks to us from heaven in language which cannot be misunderstood. He urges us to self-denial, to activity, to diligence, to resolution, to perseverance, in our exertions to make known the name of our Saviour among the heathen nations. He admonishes us that few will be the years in which we can enjoy the honor and the privilege of serving our Lord, by our humble agency in causing his gospel to be proclaimed; that the necessities of a world groaning under the dominion of sin are imperious, and must not be deferred; and that the command of our ascended Redeemer cannot be treated with indifference, especially in this day of increased means, of powerful encouragements, of divine attestations to the efficacy of the gospel among the most depraved and barbarous of our race. He assures us that if, distrusting ourselves and relying upon the all-sufficiency of God, we faithfully discharge our known duty, we cannot fail of an eventual triumph and an eternal reward.

"Let us then, brethren, listen to this monitory voice. Let us gird ourselves for the unwearied labor. Let us follow the banners of the great Captain of Salvation; and, however feeble in ourselves, let us expect ultimately to prevail through divine power, and to share, with all the marshalled hosts of the Lord, in that great victory over sin and Satan, which shall be celebrated in the regions of light by songs of everlasting joy and praise."

These paragraphs are from the Annual Report of the Board, presented in September, 1821,—the first of the series prepared by Mr. Evarts. In the conclusion of that document, a favorable change in the state of the Treasury is acknowledged with lively satisfaction; * and the feelings of Mr. Evarts in relation to the general subject of missions, when on the eve of succeeding to the office of his departed friend, are expressed as follows:

"The Christian church is urgently invited to enter vigorously upon the work of missions by the fact, hitherto unparalleled, that many pagan countries are now soliciting missionaries, and anxiously desiring their arrival. Not only are the inhabitants of these countries in perishing want of evangelical instruction, but they are in some degree sensible of their ignorance and their wretchedness. They stretch out their imploring hands to those who are blessed with the true religion, and ask that this greatest of blessings may be imparted to them. Thus, while the fields already occupied imperiously demand more laborers, other fields, of still greater extent, spread themselves before the eye, and are ripe for the sickle. How painful is it, that the gathering of this spiritual harvest should be delayed. No disciple of Christ should consent to a delay in this momentous concern of a world's recovery; unless, after a diligent examination of the subject, it shall appear that a delay is unavoidable.

"In conducting such an examination, it is important to bear in mind that, so far as our own country is concerned, there are young men and women, in sufficient numbers, and of the requisite qualifications, to fill every department of missionary labor. By sufficient numbers, the Committee intend such an accession to those who are already employed, as would strengthen every mission, and make new establishments with every returning year. If this regular increase were made, and the work were to proceed abroad in geometrical progression, we need not be apprehensive lest the churches should languish at home. The thought is not to be entertained for a moment, that obedience to the great injunction of our Saviour, which was given immediately before his ascension, would diminish our spiritual privileges, or bring upon our Christian

---

* An appeal to the patrons of the Board, on the state of the Treasury, was prepared by Mr. Evarts, and published in the Missionary Herald of February. In April he wrote to one of the missionaries, that that appeal had produced "an effect altogether favorable, and more immediate and perceptible, than any other publication ever made by the Board." The appeal was little more than a brief statement of the condition of the Treasury, and of the actual and probable consequences to the missions of continued embarrassment.

community his displeasure. In regard to the past, the matter of fact is apparent. Never before were half so many young men in a course of education for the ministry among ourselves, as at the present time; and it may be safely asserted, that hundreds of these young men were first led to think of becoming preachers of the gospel by the interest which they felt in missions to the heathen, and by the effect of these missions in exposing the wants and miseries of the greater part of the world, dead in sin, without God and without hope. Facts of a similar character have recently existed in Great Britain, and on the continent of Europe. The attempt to send salvation to remote pagans has proved as life from the dead to many slumbering churches; and from the very nature of Christianity, the same results must be expected, till there shall be no ignorance abroad to be enlightened, and no lukewarmness at home from which professed Christians are to be aroused. Let it ever remain, then, fixed and settled in the mind, that there are in our country young men enough to carry forward the work of missions to an indefinite extent; young men of undoubted piety, qualified to rank high in their several callings, as evangelists, pastors, founders of rising churches, translators of the Bible, directors of the press, physicians, magistrates of colonies in their incipient state, teachers of children and youth, husbandmen, mechanics of every useful occupation, and seamen of every class, from the experienced navigator, who can guide his gallant ship in unknown seas, to the hardy sailor, who is willing to buffet the waves of every ocean, and run the hazard of every climate. Persons of all these descriptions stand ready, and wait only for the word from our churches, to go forth into all lands, and proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ to the ends of the world.

"If the inquiry be made, whether the people of the United States are able to send forth such a number of missionaries as the heathen nations seem to demand from us, the answer must be in the affirmative. We profess, as a people, to receive Christianity; and it is not common to hear infidelity openly avowed. A great multitude, scattered throughout our extensive empire, profess to have evidence of a personal interest in the promises of the gospel; and this multitude embraces many individuals of great wealth, a more numerous class who possess competent fortunes, and a class still more numerous, composed of persons who, in consequence of their activity and industry, are capable of imparting a continual and powerful impulse to any beneficent exertions in which they should be generally and heartily engaged. Could not such a Christian community achieve wonders in the work of benevolence, compared with which all that the world has yet witnessed would appear small and unworthy of the cause? There are many ways of estimating our ability as a people, in all of which no man can avoid coming to the same result, namely, that the process of enlightening mankind by the gospel could be carried on by us to an extent which should leave all present exertions out of comparison and out of remembrance. When it is considered how much a nation will cheerfully pay, through a long series of years, to support a war, and to discharge a debt imposed by war; when the millions annually wasted in the consumption of spirituous liquors are computed; and when the numerous other millions, expended in the thousand modifications of extravagance, are taken into the estimate, to what an astonishing sum would the whole amount! And how would it change the moral face of the world, if brought by the willing hands, and accompanied by the fervent prayers, and applied by the collected wisdom of such a community! If we take as a rule what is known to be paid for this great object by a few individuals of enlarged benevolence, and suppose the same disposition were graciously imparted to the mass of professed Christians, we arrive at a similar conclusion. What an awful picture does it give of mankind to reflect that, even in Christian countries, it should be thought impossible to spend as much for the salvation of our fellow-creatures, as is freely spent to effectuate their destruction! How strange that it should be deemed chimerical even to desire that one tenth part as much should be appropriated to send the Bible and preachers of righteousness among the ignorant and destitute, as is actually spent to bring intemperance, misery, and pauperism among ourselves!

"One of the first effects of the prevalence of Christianity among a people who had hitherto been pagans is, that they make great sacrifices to send the gospel to other pagans. Having lately escaped from the bondage of Satan, they feel the greatness of their deliverance, and gladly aid in breaking off the manacles by which any of their fellow-men are held. If the highly favored Christians of this country were to make sacrifices in proportion to their numbers and property, as the newly converted South Sea Islanders have done—or the Esquimaux on the Labrador coast—or the Hottentots of South Africa—or the negroes at Sierra Leone,—a revenue would be furnished corresponding with the magnitude of the cause, and the claims which it has on the best affections of the heart. But is the enlightened Christian of Europe or America under less obligation to spread the gospel than the converted Esquimaux or Otaheitan? And why should he wish to be excused from a service which is their glory and their joy? a service more dignified in its nature, more beneficent in its aspect on mankind, and more acceptable to God, than any other service performed by men since the creation of the world.

"If it should be suggested that so vast an increase of funds as is here supposed, would render the concerns of the Bible and missionary societies unwieldly and unmanageable, on account of their magnitude, let it be considered that, in the conduct of worldly affairs, whenever the hearts of millions are set upon the accomplishment of any object, the work does not stop for want of agents. The immense revenues which are collected for war do not fail of application from this cause. The opulent merchant can find factors to manage his hundreds of thousands annually, at the extremity of the globe. And shall it be said that a vast Christian community, embracing in its limits so many gentlemen of tried character, of liberal education, of professional eminence, of practical knowledge, of unquestioned piety, cannot bring into concentrated operation, wisdom, and experience, and Christian integrity sufficient to make a faithful and judicious application of the resources placed at their disposal? We would not for a moment forget that no missionary work can prosper, whatever may be the talents and attainments of its conductors, unless it enjoy the favor of God. But is it not as easy for God to provide faithful and competent agents at home, as to send faithful missionaries abroad?

"And here the Committee would earnestly solicit the prayers of the members of this Board, and of all who contribute to its funds or desire its success, and of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, that the persons who shall be designated at this meeting, or at any future time, to manage its growing concerns, may be qualified for this responsible station by eminent piety, zeal, industry, activity and disinterestedness. Nor do we deem it out of place to suggest, as a subject of continual prayer among all friends to the promulgation of the gospel, that the Lord of the harvest would select such laborers as He will approve, and especially that the higher and more responsible stations, in all our charitable societies of a religious nature, may be held by men of God, designated with the full and hearty approbation of their brethren; men who seek not the offices, directly nor indirectly, but are sought for the offices; men whom the Saviour will honor, by making them the successful instruments of his mercy, and who shall secure, not for their own gratification or distinction, but for the success of the great cause in which they are embarked, the unhesitating, uninterrupted confidence of the churches and of the world around them. Whether the Committee who make the present Report shall have any further agency in this divine work, and what that agency shall be, is submitted to the disposal of Providence. The work itself must proceed, however, with accelerated steps, long after their feeble labors on earth shall have ceased. If any good shall have been effected by their instrumentality, to God would they unfeignedly ascribe all the praise; and most sincerely would they pray that all who succeed them in this office may greatly surpass them in every requisite qualification, and receive continual tokens of the divine presence and blessing.

"It is to be always remembered that the standard of Christian exertion is not to be taken from what the church has ever done, except in the apostolic age, nor from what is now doing in any part of Christendom; but from what the church is able to do, what the plainest dictates of benevolence require, and what the express command of Christ enjoins. In reference to this subject, as well as many others, we are not to *count ourselves to have attained*, but are bound rather *to press forward*. Glorious will be the days, and greatly are they to be desired, when all who profess to be disciples of the Saviour, shall put forth their full and united powers to extend that spiritual kingdom, which shall at length become universal.

"The design of converting the world has for several years been distinctly before the church. The indispensable duty of promoting this design has been clearly proved, in many different ways, and with irresistible force. The proof must have been brought home to many consciences, and taken hold of many hearts. At such a period, ignorance cannot be pleaded in extenuation of indifference. No person in a Christian country, endowed with common intelligence, can with propriety be ignorant of what God is doing for his people, and of what he has promised to do. Every person must therefore be responsible for the part he takes, or neglects to take, in this great business. But upon those who possess influence in the church and in the community, a peculiar weight of responsibility rests.

"Ministers of the gospel have it in their power to do more than any other class of persons in aid of this cause; the same cause indeed, to which they have, in a peculiar sense, devoted their talents and their lives. If the clergy do not kindle into animated and zealous exertions at the prospect of bringing new trophies to the foot of the cross, how can it be expected that their people shall become possessed of missionary ardor? What can be more consonant with the office of faithful preachers, than a systematic and vigorous course of labors, to send forth men of like faithfulness into every land? What can more clearly show the benign tendency of the religion which is preached, than well directed efforts to make its blessings co-extensive with the human race? What can operate more powerfully to raise the tone of piety and the standard of Christian charity, than the united and concentrated action of those who are set for the defence of the gospel, and who apply to the promulgation of the gospel all the advantages which God has put into their hands.

"No truth is more forcibly exhibited in Scripture, than our strict accountability for all the talents committed to us; and for the use of no talent can men be more responsible, than for the influence which they may be capable of exerting, in consequence of occupying a public station to which Divine Providence may have called them for the highest and noblest purposes. How cheering the thought that, while a minister in a Christian land is preparing for heaven the immortal beings committed to his charge, he may be exciting them to aid in conferring spiritual blessings upon other immortals, the inhabitants of a distant continent or island—thus putting in operation a series of beneficent causes, the effects of which shall never have an end; and thus laying a foundation for eternal gratitude and praise, that they were the voluntary, though feeble and unworthy instruments of contributing to so glorious a consummation. How delightful the anticipation of meeting, in the new Jerusalem, redeemed sinners from different and remote parts of the world, proclaiming their obligations to the same benevolent agency, which was not only the means of eternal life to many within the sphere of its direct operation, but was extended to many others, of whom nothing was known but their need of the gospel?

"While a peculiar and most delightful agency is assigned to the clergy, in the great work to which they are here called, all other persons of influence in the church are also urged, by the most powerful considerations, to co-operate for the promotion of the same glorious design. Let those who, by a long life of consistent Christian example, have obtained the reputation of fathers and mothers in Israel, take peculiar pleasure in giving their dying testimony and their last labors to this cause. Thus will their setting sun go down with a mild and heavenly radiance, and cast its vivifying beams upon the generation that is to follow. The young Christian whose heart is set upon the greatest, the most desirable, and the most permanent objects, has a path of true glory open before him. Can his ardent and vigorous mind need an exhortation? Will he not anticipate more than the occasion would permit to be said? Let him consult his Bible, his conscience, and cast his eye forward to the judgment day, and he will not linger or hesitate.

CHAPTER V.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY. 1821–1824.

At the annual meeting of the Board in September, 1821, it of course became necessary to make more definite arrangements in regard to the offices of Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer. For nearly a year, Mr. Evarts had discharged the duties of both. His remarkable qualifications as Treasurer were so well known to the Board and to the public, and he was so thoroughly acquainted with everything relating to that department, that the question of his removal to another sphere of duty was reluctantly entertained. On the other hand, it seemed equally difficult to supply adequately, by the election of a new officer, the place left vacant by the death of Dr. Worcester. It was finally concluded, as the arrangement for a single year, that he should fill both offices; and he was elected accordingly.

Assistants were employed in both departments; but his labors, as the only man familiar with the duties of either, were necessarily unremitted and severe. "We feel the loss of Dr. Worcester,"—said he the next winter—"more and more. Do not cease to pray that God will raise up faithful agents to carry on his glorious work of salvation among the heathen,—faithful agents to manage the concerns at home, as well as to preach abroad." The intelligence from the Sandwich Islands encouraged the enlargement of the mission, and had a remarkable effect on the public mind. Offers of service as missionaries and assistants, to join that mission, multiplied beyond all precedent in our country; and the correspondence which these applications required, and the investigations necessary to secure the services of the best men and guard the mission from the unworthy and the unqualified, were duties equally arduous and delicate. As many as eight or ten unmarried females of excellent character were among the applicants. The number to be sent out was large, and upon the proper selection of the company would depend, so far as human agency could determine the result, the success of the mission and the future character and well being of a whole people.

The circulation of the Missionary Herald was another object of deep interest to him at this time. "Your agency"—he writes to Rev. William Goodell, in October—"will be productive of great good, by producing a call for religious intelligence, and promoting the circulation of the Herald.

"As to the profits of the work, experience alone will enable us to form correct estimates. A most respectable committee is appointed to examine into the profits, and appropriate them. In regard to our publication, I think it may safely be said, that not a missionary institution in the world circulates its intelligence at so little expense, and so advantageously, as our Board. We print seven thousand copies, and hope next year to print more than ten thousand.

"The Church Missionary Society in Great Britain, a society conducted with distinguished ability, pays out of its Treasury for printing the Missionary Register, more than $4,800 a year; and, in the year ending in the spring of 1819, that Society paid more than $15,000 for its various publications, and, in the annual report, congratulated the Society on the good success of that expenditure. Although our Board expended last year, for its missionary operations, nearly half as much as the Church Missionary Society, yet we paid but $1,558 10 for printing of every kind.

"It is probable that this very year the Church Missionary Society pays $6,000 for their excellent publication distributed; while our Board will distribute the Herald to great effect, and actually derive a profit from it."

Writing a few months after to a friend, he remarks:

"There is no one thing which is so uniformly pleasing to me as the circulation of the Herald. We printed ten thousand copies of the January number, and found that we should want more before the close of the year. Of the February number we printed fourteen thousand, and shall probably keep up twelve thousand in future months. The only reason why we do not print fourteen thousand through the year is the crowded state of the mails, and our fears that, if we push the circulation, we shall endanger the privilege of sending any by mail, as post-masters have a large discretionary power on this subject."

The circulation of the Herald has increased very much since this time; but never has it been extended with the like rapidity.

The health of Mr. Evarts had been for some time remarkably good. January 18th, 1822, he says, "Since May, 1820, I have not lost a day by ill health. I am generally able to be employed without weariness to nine or ten in the evening; and sometimes later."

But these anxieties and labors were too unremitted and exhausting. Early in March, 1822, he was compelled to lay them aside entirely, and to seek relief, for the second time, in a milder climate. The plan was similar to that of 1818. He took passage on the 3d of March for Savannah; and after spending a few weeks there and in the vicinity, proceeded across the country to the Indian missions, and thence home, by way of East Tennessee and Western Virginia. Extracts from his journal and letters follow:

"March 10. Sabbath. (At sea.) Spent not only the Sabbath, but the greater part of the voyage, in retired meditation and contemplation. Neither my situation nor my health would permit writing. My lungs would not bear much speaking. Reading to profit was also out of the question. I would humbly hope, however, that the time did not pass altogether without improvement. If I have gathered any new motives to diligence in the service of my Lord, or made any advances in the divine life, to God be the praise.

"12. Mouth of the Savannah. I have made these slight entries to refresh my memory hereafter. Things of more importance I have not time and strength to enter in a suitable manner. Thanks be rendered to my Preserver."

TO A MISSIONARY IN CEYLON.

Savannah, March 15, 1822.

Providence has brought me hither in consequence of a sudden weakness of the lungs. Symptoms are at present favorable, and I hope to resume my labors before long. In the mean time I desire to submit myself to the will of my Heavenly Father. To his care and protection I commend myself and the cause of missions, and all who are engaged in the good work of the Lord. I exhort you to diligence, to fidelity, to holiness. You have had bright displays of Christian virtue in Mrs. Poor and Mr. Warren. May these be sanctified to you and to us. I am forbidden to write much.

(Journal.) Looking a little into books, I had a strong sense of the excellence and desirableness of serving God, particularly as an author.

17th. Sabbath. Rose in better health than at any time since I left Boston. To God be the praise. If my strength should be restored, may it be devoted to his service. In the morning, and after public worship, attended the Sabbath School;—which is well conducted here, and has been kept up with great regularity and zeal since its first establishment six years ago. One hundred and thirty children present.

Mr. C. related to me the following facts, respecting the death of a young physician, who died here about a month ago. His age was twenty-six. He was a young man of good talents, very amiable manners, and an honest disposition. Being attacked with the consumption, he came hither for relief, but was too late. On a certain visit, the following conversation took place, which I enter by way of dialogue, for the sake of brevity.

Dr. B. What do you think of my sickness?

Mr. C. Do you want my plain, honest opinion?

Dr. B. Yes, I do.

Mr. C. You cannot recover; but may live three weeks, perhaps four.

Dr. B. You are much mistaken. I shall get well. What makes you think I shall not?

Mr. C. I have known so many similar cases. At any rate, you may suppose I am right. You must die some time, or other. Suppose you are to die soon: are you prepared to hear the summons?

Dr. B. Yes, I am ready to die. I have done my duty. I have labored hard and faithfully to support a dependent mother and sisters. This I consider my duty—all that God can require of me.

Mr. C. then went into some explanation of the Gospel plan—the necessity of faith in Christ, &c.

Dr. B. replied, that when he was at Andover Academy, at about the age of eleven, he remembered that they had a good deal to say about *faith;* but he hated to hear of it, rarely went to church afterwards, and paid no attention to religion.

Either at this visit, or a subsequent one, Mr. C. asked if he had a Bible. Dr. B. replied in the negative; but for three days he had thought of sending for one. He had not mustered courage to do so, however, as he supposed the people would laugh at him, that a person so likely to get well should trouble his head about such subjects.

Mr. C. immediately sent him a Bible; and on calling some days afterwards, found he had been reading it faithfully. He declared with tears that he had prayed earnestly; that he felt happy in this exercise; that he found the Bible contained the same things which he had heard at Andover when a child; that these things had all been brought to his mind with great force; that he thought much better of Andover teaching than he had been accustomed to do.

This was the last time Mr. C. could see him, as he grew weaker daily, and all access was prohibited by the physicians. The young man died soon after.

On this case, three remarks are obvious.

1. How are men deceived with respect to the issue of their own sickness! Even this physician thought he should recover, when he was on the very verge of death, with a pulmonary con-

sumption. *Let me* be admonished, and stand daily ready for the summons.

2. In what deplorable ignorance, as to religion, are many of the young men of Boston, in the liberal professions.

3. The possibility that early lessons of piety may be brought into use after the lapse of years, should induce every parent and every teacher, to imbue the minds of the young with religious truth as much as possible.

I may add, that this faithfulness on the part of Mr. C. should stimulate me to be faithful in every similar case. On visiting a sick man, and finding him accessible to religious conversation, it should be remembered that every such opportunity may be the last time.

21. In the afternoon walked to a prayer meeting of ladies, and spoke on missionary subjects from three to five minutes, which fatigued me much; though my voice was kept quite in a low tone.

31. Sabbath. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. Mr. Snodgrass preached. The communicants filled a long table the whole length of the great aisle, and a cross table before the pulpit; besides some who sat in pews. Four persons partook of the sacrament for the first time—all females.

The number of persons at public worship for three Sabbaths in succession is about half as great as in Park-street Church. Not many went out before the the administration of the sacrament.

It was on the 4th of April, 1802, that I first participated in this ordinance. How little have I done in honor of my Divine Master within twenty years! How much have I sinned! How little evidence do I give of genuine religion! How infinite the mercy that receives me, if I am received at all!

This morning I made a prayer in the church, and did not feel any ill effects from it. This was at a prayer meeting previous to public worship.

April 1. Attended the monthly concert in the evening, and spoke seventeen minutes in a low and measured voice.

2. My lungs weak in consequence of speaking last evening; but I have reason to be thankful that no alarming symptoms appear.

TO THE HON. WILLIAM REED.

Dawfuskie, near Savannah, April 4, 1822.

I have been gaining strength pretty regularly since my arrival here; and, if no unfavorable circumstance should prevent, I shall probably set out for Augusta next week, and proceed thence on my way to Brainerd. But in regard to this plan and every other, I would desire a filial acquiescence in the will of my heavenly Father. If I should visit Brainerd, it seems desirable that I should have strength and wisdom adequate to the performance of the important duties which will there devolve upon me. For this you will pray. Our concerns, as individuals, if viewed in connexion with this world only, cannot be of much importance to ourselves or others. Soon they will all be forgotten. But when we act as agents of the church, with direct reference to the promulgation of the Gospel, our measures carry with them a great responsibility, and are followed by everlasting consequences. Perhaps in no point of view are the present operations of our Board so important, as with reference to future operations of the same kind, to be carried forward by the Christians of this country. Should Providence frown upon our Board, and, from its present resources and prospects, should it be brought low, the result could hardly be otherwise than disastrous for a long time to come. So at least it appears to us. If God be not with us, all our plans and labors will be of no avail; but if he has a work to be accomplished by our poor instrumentality, he can enable us to perform it. There are no views but these, which afford me any comfort in regard to missionary concerns, or my agency in them. Were it not for these views, I should long ago, if my own heart does not deceive me, have withdrawn myself from all participation in the counsels and exertions of the Board.

TO THE REV. RUFUS ANDERSON.

Savannah, April 9, 1822.

I am particularly pleased with the Committee's having declined to appropriate the name Newell to Mr. Williams's station. I regretted much before the receipt of your letter, that I had not the opportunity of expressing my views to the Committee on the subject of naming places after our own officers and missionaries.

That your own health is preserved, is cause of gratitude. Though very desirous that the concerns of the Board should go on well, I am not troubled by excessive solicitude. God can provide agents for every part of his own work, and can furnish them with the various qualifications, and sustain them under the most arduous labors. That you and Mr. Chamberlain* may be enabled to bear the burdens laid upon you, is my earnest petition to the throne of grace.

I expect to set out for Augusta to-morrow morning in a sulkey. My health has greatly improved, and I hope to reach Brainerd by the last of this month.

While at Savannah Mr. Evarts wrote notices, on a separate sheet, respecting the condition of the blacks:

March 17. Mr. ——— tells me, that the condition of the blacks is gradually improving here—that many of the children learn to read.

Mr. ——— tells me that the children of the free negroes in Savannah generally attend school—that some young slaves learn to read—that many more of the rising generation, than of their fathers, will know letters.

He says that the negroes who profess religion, rely much on dreams &c. The great majority are Baptists. The Methodists are more strict in discipline than the Baptists, and insist on more evidence of piety.

March 23. In my repeated rides I have seen many negroes. Those on the plantations near Savannah, appear to be in a very abject condition. The young appear cheerful—the aged very miserable. Their poor bodies appear to be worn out by hard service and scanty fare, while their minds are in perpetual infancy—not having advanced towards enlarged thought, or made the least progress as immortal beings.

---

* Mr. Levi Chamberlain, then an assistant at the Missionary Rooms in the Treasurer's department, and since of the Sandwich Island Mission.

Mr. ——— says that the negroes on the islands are generally through their tasks by two o'clock—that they have as much land as they can till for their own use, and that they might be in very comfortable circumstances, if they were industrious. Every thing which they can carry to market is sold for liquor.

March 29. In one of my excursions, I counted twenty-five slaves at work in one field. The females have the same task assigned them as the males. The clothing of almost all the negroes out of town is very wretched, always coarse and dirty,—generally old and tattered.

April 6. I have just returned from an excursion of three days, to an island on which are several cotton plantations. The situation of the slaves is more abject and degraded, than I had ever supposed. I refer not to cruelty, (of which instances are not lacking,) but to that incomparable ignorance which must exist, of course, where there is a total want of instruction of every kind; where there is no thought or reflection; and where every germ of enterprise is crushed by harsh and contemptuous treatment. Yet I am fully convinced that there are no difficulties but moral ones, in the way of a thorough renovation of this whole southern country; and these God can remove by the mild and gracious operations of his Providence, whenever he sees best. Let every possible means be used by his children, and the work will proceed. But every scheme of meliorating the condition of the slaveholding country without the aid of the Gospel, must be chimerical. The first step in the progress is, to get a competent number of religious teachers, who will cheerfully and heartily devote themselves to the work; and this number must be much greater than has ever been estimated. One minister of the Gospel to one thousand souls is by no means enough; unless the deficiency be made up by intelligent catechists. It is greatly to be desired that as many pious young men, natives of the southern states, as God shall endue with the requisite qualifications, may be employed as spiritual teachers of their countrymen. They have many advantages over northern young men; as they are able to bear the climate, and there are fewer prejudices against their efforts. But in the present state of things, how are these young men to be prepared for the work? How are the rising generation to become religious? The means of religion are not enjoyed: the youth are tempted in a thousand ways to a life of idleness and sensuality.

In the mean time, the instruction of the blacks is a slow process, and requires uncommon disinterestedness, and patience, and self-denial. Still, it implies no impossibility. If all Christians would engage in the work of renovating every part of our own country, they would find that God would interpose in their behalf, and by new methods would carry forward the plans of infinite benevolence.

10. Left Savannah in my sulkey. Stopped at K.'s, twenty-seven miles. As one of the younger members was describing the manner in which he had been accustomed to spend the Sabbath while living at Savannah, I entered into conversation with him, to inform him that there was a way of spending the Sabbath, which would afford more enjoyment than could be had by profane dissipation. He said he did not believe it to be possible for a young man to be religious. In this opinion a young traveller from Savannah, of gentlemanly deportment, agreed with him.

The first observed, however, that when he went to Savannah lately, he found, to his astonishment, that all his old companions in drinking and frolicking on the Sabbath had, to use his own words, "become Christians, and all belonged to the Methodist church." He added that as soon as he found out this fact, he left them. He supposed, however, that they were hypocrites.

21. (Sabbath, at Augusta.) The privileges of this Sabbath have been precious, I trust, to me. At singing, in the Baptist church, I was unusually affected with the *final judgment*, which was brought to view in the second hymn.

22. Left Augusta. Arrived just at sunset at Mr. S's. Mr. S. a Methodist—his shelves loaded with religious books, principally those published by Methodists, and circulated by their preachers. On opening their Magazine for 1820, published in New York, I was pleased to find so many good pieces—mixed, however, with others which I could not approve. The circulation of these books cannot but have a humanizing and christianizing effect, distributed as they are among people who would otherwise be left in ignorance.

26. Athens. Received the most pleasing accounts of the

healthfulness of this village. No case of indigenous fever was known here last summer. Not a death has occurred in the college by fever since it went into operation, more than twenty years ago. Mr. C., (a native of Brattleborough, Vt.) says he considers this place as healthy during summer as any place in Vermont. The ground is high; the soil a coarse red loamy clay, mixed with hard gravel. It acts as a strainer, and is perfectly dry in a few minutes after rain. The face of the country is uneven, considerably elevated above the beds of the two branches of the Oconee, between which the village is situated.

In the evening; called upon Mrs. N., a widow, who has often shown kindness to the missionaries. She came into this country as a frontier settler, thirty-five years ago, and for four years was obliged occasionally to resort to forts for protection—had a sister killed by Indians, within hail of the fort where herself was. The murder was most barbarous. Three children were with their mother; the eldest of whom the Indians scalped, though they did not kill him. The two others were left unmolested. The mother was returning from the fort to her house, expecting to meet her husband on the road. Mrs. N. says the terrors of the four years' exposure are beyond description. When her door was shut, she dared not open it, for fear of seeing Indians; and when it was open, she dared not shut it, for fear Indians would approach unseen. The settlers could not live all the while in forts, because they must gain subsistence from the land; and they could not live all the while on their farms, without imminent danger of being murdered. The Indians stole their horses, cattle, &c., and murdered unprotected individuals. After outrages of this kind, they were pursued, and generally defended themselves at the expense of some life among the white men. The state of anxiety in which delicate women would be kept, must have been distressing. Mrs. N. added that such were formerly her feelings respecting the Indians, that she did not think any good could be done to them. After visiting Brainerd, however, about two or three years ago, and seeing the school there, she experienced an entire change in her feelings on this subject.

There are nearly one hundred students in the college here, under the instruction of a president, three professors, and a tutor. I attended prayers, and heard one of the youths declaim. There is no professor of religion in college, though one or two students are hopefully pious.

Dr. Waddel deeply laments the evils of slavery. If he could bear the climate of Ohio, he would leave the slave country in a few months. He most anxiously desires to do it. He does not believe that religion in any form, certainly not in the Presbyterian form, can flourish in a slave country. He does not believe that domestic slaves can ever generally be brought to receive religious education. They are generally much averse to attending family prayers and to any religious order. Some years ago he and the elders of his church in South Carolina commenced Sabbath schools. They were broken up, however, by the people, who assembled in a mob-like manner, and dispersed both scholars and teachers; and this, although they set out upon the plan of teaching those only whose masters were willing they should learn.

27. I am convinced that Jackson county, where I now am, is as healthy as any place in the United States. Mr. M. has eleven children; never lost a child, nor had one sick a week. He has lived in this place twenty-one years, having lived in Hancock county ten years previously. The heat of summer is greatly mitigated by a pleasant breeze from the south-west, which generally blows from ten to three. The nights are always cool. The water from springs is pure, cool enough, and delicious to the taste. Fevers are almost unknown. There is no sickly season. The summer is more healthy than the winter when there are some pleurisies.

As I was riding, I thought much of the solemn and arduous duties which will devolve upon me at Brainerd, should the Lord bring me thither, and afford me bodily strength to make a thorough inspection of the mission. May He give me wisdom to discharge these duties aright.

28. Sabbath. In this retirement, spent the forenoon in reading the Bible, Scott's Observations, the 11th and 12th chapters of Baxter's Saint's Rest, and some religious intelligence, with intermediate meditation and reflection. How inestimably important is the Sabbath, even when public worship cannot be enjoyed! Still, such are the deadness and coldness of the human heart, that it is

prone to grow idle and stupid, even it have experienced religion, where the regular ordinances of God's house are not attended.

29. Mr. M., where I staid over the Sabbath, appears to live with as few ungratified desires as any man within my knowledge. In a humble farm-house, clothed with the manufactures of his own family, surrounded by the many acres under his own cultivation, and by his own herds, without a neighbor in sight, but with his children settled within a moderate distance, keeping an open house for strangers, especially for religious persons, many of whom come that way to see him; having abundance of leisure, and being somewhat engaged in public employments, he is more truly independent than the rich planter, or the richer nobleman.

30. Blackburn's. B. tells me that the Cherokees are increasing in numbers very fast—much faster than ever before.

I found with him an elderly man, now an inhabitant of Alabama, formerly of Georgia, who made the first settlement at Blackburn's place, about twenty years ago, and kept store here till 1813, when his partner died, and he removed. The design of this preface is to show how well he must be acquainted with the nation, he having visited every village in it. He assisted the commissioners in laying out what is called the Federal Road, eighteen or nineteen years ago, piloting them on the course where it now runs. He says the progress which the natives make in farming and domestic manufactures is surprising; that you will rarely find a Cherokee in his ancient dress; that many have become laborious farmers since they were men, and were as much attached to Indian habits as men could be. He told me of one particularly, whom he at first encouraged himself, and who was then worth nothing but a little stock, "and a chunk or two of a poney;" but now plants more than two hundred acres of corn.

May 1. Reached Mr. Hall's station at Taloney.

TO REV. R. ANDERSON.

Augusta, April 17.

In regard to my writing letters from Brainerd for publication, it must depend upon circumstances. No species of composition requires so much care. In stating facts, much caution must be used, that no more than the simple verity should be communicated or understood; and the whole should be compared and revised with particular attention. I shall not spend more than a fortnight at Brainerd, if I can get through the business in that time; and I shall, of course, be incessantly occupied while there. However, if I can do any thing to promote the cause by writing for publication, I shall do it.

These consultations resulted in remodelling entirely the mission to the Cherokees. The establishment at Brainerd was found too large to be conducted advantageously; and it was determined to make various changes, by which the number of residents there was reduced about one half, and the direct influence of the mission diffused more extensively in the nation.

TO REV. R. ANDERSON.

Talony, May 2, 1822.

I think it not best to communicate any thing for publication now. As I approach Brainerd, I feel very deeply the responsibility which rests upon me during my present visit. The Committee, I doubt not, sympathize with me in this respect. Every year's experience convinces me that great wisdom, as well as zeal and diligence, is necessary to carry on any mission with effect.

I have reason to be thankful that my health continues to improve. This is a very pleasant time of the year; but it is somewhat oppressive riding in the sun, when the thermometer is eighty-two or eighty-three in the coolest shade that can be found.

I have nothing of importance to say, with respect to the state of religion in the southern country through which I have passed. It is a dreary and desolate region in this respect; and I see not how it is to be different, unless God sees fit to employ a different system of agency from any that is now in operation. This he can do; but he will *be inquired of by his people to do it for them.*

TO REV. E. CORNELIUS.

Knoxville, May 28, 1822.

I staid at Brainerd seventeen days, and was never more busy for an equal time in my life. From day-break till ten or eleven o'clock at night, I was employed (with the exception of a single evening, when I had a severe tooth-ache) in the various business of the Cherokee and Choctaw missions. The business consisted of obtaining information and committing it to writing;—inspecting the various departments of this mission;—attending to the various exercises;—holding consultations with the brethren on various subjects;—answering a multitude of questions;—visiting some individuals, whose favor was of importance to the mission;—and in going through with the whole Choctaw business with Mr. Kingsbury, and giving him written answers to all the questions which he thought it necessary to propose.

It would have given us great pleasure to have conferred with you. All the circumstances of our former journey and visit were fresh in my mind. Incidents were all the while occurring, which brought to my recollection things that were said and done when we were together.

There is one remarkable fact, on comparing my late visit with my former one, which you would not be prepared to expect. It is this: I cannot find that a single person whom we saw at Brainerd, young or old, white, red, or black, has died during this long interval. This is certainly an uncommon preservation of so many individuals, engaged in so different employments, and so remote from each other. Since I have been writing this, it has occurred to me, that Tollontiskee, who just called in passing, is no more. He died, as you know, near St. Louis. If we examine, my dear friend we shall find that we have not done as much for the cause of Christ within the period referred to, as we ought to have done. Our time of labor may be very short. Let our power be the only limit of our exertions. Who would have thought, when we separated from the mission family in May, 1818, and from Mr. Williams and Mr. Kingsbury, that we should all be alive in May, 1822, and that Dr. Worcester's remains would be deposited at Brainerd? Yet such is the Providence of God.

You can easily conceive many of my sad reflections, on standing by the grave of that great man. Not a week has passed, I presume, and scarcely a day, since I heard of his death, without some case occurring, in regard to which it would have been a high gratification to consult with him.

Mr. Kingsbury arrived at Brainerd the day before me, and set out on his return the day before I came away. His health is apparently as good as when you last saw him. He is the same man as heretofore. The same benevolent smile lights up his countenance; the same tender regard to the welfare of all these missions is manifest in his remarks; the same candor in acknowledging errors in judgment; the same mild and amiable disposition to apologize for the errors of others; the same wakeful solicitude, the same readiness to assume care and labor, and the same willingness to wear out, if necessary, in performing the humblest duties;—in short, the same missionary character was continually apparent. We separated on Monday the 20th, in the road which passes over the Lookout mountain, at the highest place, where we had a view of the Tennessee and the hills beyond it. It was a very affecting occasion. Should I never see the good man again, I shall greatly rejoice in our late meeting.

At Knoxville he wrote also a letter to his associates, a few paragraphs of which follow:

"Since the commencement of the present month I have visited Brainerd, and spent more than a fortnight there in attending to the concerns of that establishment; and, in conjunction with Mr. Kingsbury, to the concerns of the Choctaw mission.

"I hope to lay before the Committee, in person, the information collected on the spot, the measures already adopted, or proposed for adoption hereafter, and every thing, so far as I shall be able, which is likely to have any material bearing upon the success of the mission.

"When I arrived in the upper counties of Georgia, I endeavored to obtain a suitable companion, before entering upon the Indian territory; partly because my health was not robust, but more, because my friends, both at the north and the south, had urged the measure upon me. Several clergymen and others, to whom I proposed the subject, were desirous of visiting Brainerd, and expressed a strong wish to accompany me; but their engagements would not permit. Thinking it unnecessary to delay my journey for the sake of company, I proceeded alone. Leaving the hospitable dwelling of Mr. Montgomery, in Jackson county, on Monday the 29th of April, I rode to the Chatahoochy, which is the boundary of lands still retained by the Cherokees. Early the next day, crossing the ferry, I had a pleasant ride in the wilderness, the fields of the few inhabitants on the road occupying but a small part of the way. Before noon, on the first of May, I reached Taloney, and found Mr. Hall, Mr. Parker, and their families, in comfortable circumstances. This station is forty-six miles from the Chatahoochy, and sixty-two from Brainerd, on what is called the Federal Road. It is near a small river, called Talking Rock creek, and five miles from the Cherokee town of Taloney, which lies off from the road, in a northeasterly direction. I rested here till after breakfast on the 3rd, and then set out with Mr. Hall for Brainerd. The intervening time was spent in examining into the affairs of the station. I cannot enter into details here; but would say, in general, that most gratifying evidence of the beneficial tendency and good effects of local schools was very apparent.

"At evening we reached Springplace, and were kindly received by Mr. Smith, the Moravian missionary, and by his family. The venerable Mr. Gambold removed some time since to a new station, called *Oogh-gee-lo-gy;* near which place the greater part of the converts under his ministry reside. I regretted very much that I was not able to see this faithful missionary, in whose company, while on my former journey, I spent one of the happiest days of my life, and for whom the friends of missions, universally, so far as they know his character, feel a sincere respect and cordial affection.

"On Saturday evening at half past nine, we arrived at Brainerd, having been delayed partly by the heat and partly by other causes. All was still. As we passed the burying-ground, on our way to the mission-house, we stopped and looked awhile upon the grave of Dr. Worcester. The light of the full moon, though obscured by clouds, enabled us to distinguish the place. The reflections which would naturally arise in the mind at such a time, you, who knew the man and the circumstances of his death, and the nature of the union which had subsisted between us, can easily conceive.

"We found the mission family in usual health. But few Cherokee children were there, the spring vacation not having expired till the following Tuesday. Mr. Kingsbury had arrived to meet me, by direction of the Committee, the day before. He was accompanied by Mr. Goodell, who had visited Elliot and Mayhew, having made an excursion from the route of his agency for that purpose. During my stay at Brainerd, my time was much occupied, as you may well suppose, by a great variety of subjects, which demanded attention. Mr. Kingsbury set out on his return the 20th inst., and Mr. Goodell and myself came away the next morning.

"At this season of the year, it was very pleasant travelling. The waters had subsided, so that there was no serious difficulty in fording them; though a few days before, the more rapid streams were impassable, and others could only be crossed by swimming. Several travellers whom I met had been detained by high water. The forest, though generally the trees are not thick, afforded a grateful shelter from the rays of the sun. The herbage and flowers were in their most beautiful state, having all the freshness of spring, and beginning to show the luxuriance of summer. I I am told, however, that flowers in variety and abundance are to be seen in the woods here, from the first of March to the first of December. The long solitudes were peculiarly agreeable; in one instance it being fourteen miles from one house to another; and, in three other instances, ten, eleven, and twelve miles. The road from Augusta to Nashville has been a good deal travelled since it was opened through the Cherokee nation, eighteen years ago; though in former years much more than at present. It has been quite an object, therefore, with several white men who were settled here, and several natives of the country, to furnish food and shelter to travellers. I observed that these establishments were improving, in regard to buildings, furniture, and other things. In two of these houses of entertainment, I found young females, (that is, one in each,) who had been members of the school at Brainerd. Their appearance was neat, becoming, and such as would be thought respectable at the house of an inn-keeper among ourselves. One of them I remembered having seen in the mission family; and Mr. Hall was of course well known to her. Supposing that we should need refreshment, she provided tea unasked, and waited upon us in a manner creditable to her hospitality and her education. Several useful books stood upon a shelf, and she said, in answer to my inquiry, that she was very fond of speaking.

"It is very evident that the Cherokees are improving more rapidly at present, than at any previous time. There are more instances of laborious industry among them every returning year. There are more instances of serious inquiry after moral and religious truth. There is an increasing conviction, that many of the whites sincerely wish to promote the welfare of the Indians. The best informed and more intelligent Cherokees are very favorably disposed towards the mission and school at Brainerd. At several places in the nation is found an earnest desire to have village schools, with regular preaching; and there is nothing to prevent the establishment of these, except what results from the want of pecuniary means, and of interpreters. It is hoped that the deficiency, in both these respects, will be removed to such an extent, that the present generation may have lights kindled in all their borders and that generations to come may be saved from the darkness and wretchedness of their fathers.

"It used to be said, a few years since, with the greatest confidence, and is sometimes repeated even now, that Indians can never acquire the habit of labor. Facts abundantly disprove this opinion. There are numerous instances among the Cherokees, of very laborious and long continued industry; and, in some of these instances, the habit has commenced and become established after the individuals had grown up in hereditary freedom from any thing like regular labor. In more instances, the habit commenced in youth, and is confirmed by practice. Some Indians, not only provide an abundant supply of food for their families, by the labor of their own hands, but have a surplus of several hundred bushels of corn, with which they procure clothing, furniture, and foreign articles of luxury, particularly sugar and coffee, of which they are immoderately fond. Others manufacture their own clothes from cotton produced in their own fields. The current is now setting very strongly in favor of agriculture and other laborious pursuits. All are convinced that the very existence of their community must be preserved in this way, if preserved at all.

"Notwithstanding these encouraging appearances, however, it is not to be disguised, that many things still remaining among the

Cherokees, are greatly to be deplored. Much poverty and wretchedness, several gross vices, particularly drunkenness, and an almost total ignorance of God, his law, and the plan of salvation, need to be chased away, before the people generally can reach the proper standard of rational and immortal beings. What has been already done in the way of communicating evangelical instruction, though of inestimable value to such individuals as have received spiritual benefit, and as an experiment of what may be done, is yet a mere specimen of that benevolent agency which needs to be extended, not only to every part of the Cherokee country, but to all the Indian tribes in North America, and to all the heathens on the globe.

"The attempts of the Cherokees to institute civil government for themselves, adapted to their improving condition, succeed quite as well as could be expected. Their incipient jurisprudence appears to secure the respect of the people. The distribution of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government, is made with considerable skill and judgment. I have in my possession the details of the system; but cannot conveniently transcribe them here. While I was at Brainerd a court was held for Chickamaugah district, and a member of it reported to me two of the cases which were then decided.

"During my stay, I visited Mr. Hicks, who lives seventeen miles from Brainerd. The Christian and public character of this man is well known. Though he has been confined for a long time by ill health, his mind is active and vigorous. He appears to be influenced in his labors for the good of his countrymen by patriotism, under the control of Christian principle. He became a member of the Moravian church about thirteen years ago; and his wife lately joined the same communion.

"It deserves to be mentioned with gratitude, that there has been no instance hitherto, among the Cherokee converts at Brainerd and Creekpath, of any such departure from Christian conduct, as to bring scandal upon the cause, or call for censure from the church. On the contrary, all these converts discover a great desire to ascertain their duty; and, when they have learned what their duty is, an uncommon willingness to perform it. The same is true, so far as I have been informed, of the members of the Moravian church.

"It is obvious to every reflecting person, that now is the time to benefit these southwestern tribes, by the communication of the Gospel. If this time should pass away without being employed to the best advantage; if the present attempts should fail, either from the want of pecuniary means, or a deficiency of wisdom in planning and directing the business, or of fidelity and perseverance in the missionaries, or in consequence of the divine blessing not being granted; it is impossible to see how a remedy can ever be applied hereafter. The present state of things cannot continue long. The Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the other tribes, must either rise to the rank of intelligent men and well instructed Christians, or they must melt away, destroyed by vices copied from unprincipled whites, having sold their birthright for *a mess of pottage*, and being left, in the land of their fathers, without property, without a home, and without a friend. Who would not be pained at so lamentable an issue? How can any disciple of Christ hesitate, whether he shall do all in his power to impart the blessings of civilization and Christianity, at this critical period? A favorable impulse may now be given, which, with the continued smiles of Providence, shall perpetuate the privileges and the hopes of the Gospel among a people, whose ancestors, from time immemorial, were enveloped in all the darkness of heathenism. Is not such an object worthy of continued labors and persevering efforts?"

TO REV. R. ANDERSON.

Knoxville, Tennessee, May 21, 1822.

"The proposal of Dr. Porter of Catskill* strikes me very favorably; and I have only this observation to make upon it, that our Board ought to proceed with great deliberation, in the selection of every important officer. So far as I am personally concerned, I desire to be employed in that sphere where my services may turn to the best account; and of this I am desirous that others should judge. It would be certainly most agreeable to me, however, not to be obliged to attend to so many departments as I have done for a year or two. In regard to any new appointment, it should of course be well considered, and the Board should not be hastily committed. I do not mention this because I have any fears on the subject; but as a reason why I do not say any thing more decided."

---

* Relating to the appointment of a Treasurer of the Board.

"June 3. Left Knoxville. Stopped at L.'s. A methodist minister present,—a young man on a circuit. He was very reserved and shy. I could not engage him in conversation upon religious topics. Did not forget the monthly concert:—the first on which I have not been present with some assembly of the people of God, as I remember, since July 1818, when I was in the north-west corner of Maryland, on the Cumberland road.

"The negro who ferried me over at Mackley's, discovered great joy when I inquired of him respecting his religious character. He said that he could read some in the Bible; but he had many enemies, who would come and snatch the book from him and throw it into the fire. He appeared to discover marks of real goodness. I encouraged him to persevere, and gave him some advice as to procuring books.

"4. Where we called for breakfast, our host was full of talk. He said there had been a great change in the religious character of J. within a few years. Dr. C. preached there early, and had been the principal cause of the change.

"6. Jonesboro.' Mr. Goodell preached in the evening, and I made some remarks. Never have we been so cordially received at any place. It was really cheering to see the alacrity of these men.

"9. Sabbath. Abingdon, Va. Attended the preaching of a Methodist at the Court-house, A. M. In the interval of worship, the minister baptized a negro infant, brought by its mother. He made no inquiries of the woman, but immediately used the Wesleyan form of that ordinance. Afterwards our hostess told him with a laugh that the black woman was a Baptist, and had her child baptized because "she did not know whether her child, when he grows up, will be a Methodist or a Baptist."

"Lexington, Va. June 15. At the post-office here I found the June Herald;—to my great joy, as it answers for many letters. It has been here six or eight days. I could not find that it was taken at any place between this town and Greenville, Tennessee, a distance of two hundred and fifty-five miles.

"At the house of an obscure Tennessee farmer, where I had stopped for rest and refreshment, I was surprised to find the Herald; and Mr. Goodell, at the house of a farmer, (where he called for a drink of water, I think,) found the Christian Spectator, the Religious Intelligencer, the Guardian, the Boston Recorder, and the Herald. A clergyman with whom I spent a night, who lives in a log house, (as does almost every body else in that region,) and is evidently in very moderate circumstances, takes the Boston Recorder, the Christian Spectator, and the family Visitor from Richmond. He has the Herald sent to him for a society. Yet corn, the staple of the country, sells for twenty-five cents a bushel; and it is almost impossible to get money for it at any price. How ought such facts as these to shame multitudes of professors of religion in New England! If I can put these facts in such a form as will give no offence, I may hereafter make use of them in print."

Mr. Evarts arrived at Boston on the 17th of August. His health having been essentially improved by the voyage and journey, he immediately engaged, with his accustomed industry, in preparing the Annual Report, and in other important duties. At the meeting of the Board in September, Henry Hill, Esq. was elected Treasurer, and Mr. Evarts Corresponding Secretary, and in this office he was continued, by annual election, till his death.

Among the earliest letters written after this arrangement, was one of condolence to his missionary friend, Mr. Kingsbury. "We had learned," said he, "by a letter from Mr. Williams, which was received a few days earlier than yours, that the Lord had seen fit, in his holy and mysterious Providence, to remove from you the friend of your bosom, one who was greatly endeared to you and to the mission, and whose services were very valuable, and seemed to us very much needed. This is, indeed, a severe affliction to us all. As such I feel it; and as such it will be extensively felt by the friends of missions. But you will feel the stroke longer and more keenly than others; yet you will not be destitute of great and heavenly consolations. These consolations will support you, and enable you to prosecute the work to which you are assigned, till you too are released from your labors, and your works follow you, as I trust they will, to the honor of free grace and to your eternal joy. In the midst of disappointments and trials of this mortal state, let us comfort one another with these words.

"I know not how short my own pilgrimage will be; nor whether I shall ever visit the south again; yet I had fondly pleased myself with the idea of being welcomed by Mrs. Kingsbury to her habitation—the place of her cares and her comforts—the scene of her laborious industry and patient self-denial. Happy will it be, if we are prepared to meet in heaven.

"Instead of indulging in fruitless grief, let us dwell much on the glorious victory over death and the grave, which Christianity has achieved. Let us think of this subject with a holy exultation; and consider, even while we look on the dying bed of an intimate friend, if such a friend is just going to heaven, how much more occasion we have to rejoice than to mourn.

"For three years in succession, the Allwise Disposer has seen fit to remove a valuable laborer from your mission at about this season of the year. Whether the summons of death will be more or less frequent hereafter, it is not in the power of man to predict; but we may be certain that we shall labor but a little while here below;—that the demands upon our time are numerous and pressing; —and that we shall never regret having exerted ourselves to the utmost in the service of our Divine Master.

"In regard to opening a school in the compact settlement near Capt. Folsom's," he adds, passing to another topic, "I entirely approve of it, whenever you have any person, who can be assigned to that service: and so, of other local schools. We wish them to be established as fast as possible; and, if we had men of proper qualifications, we should send them immediately. You must be aware, my dear sir, that every young man who feels a missionary impulse, is not qualified to go into the wilderness,—reside among a strange people,—accustom himself, in some degree, to their modes of life, —act as agent, teacher, laborer, guide and friend,—establish rules for his school,—induce the parents and the children to conform to these rules,—persevere in his work among many discouragements, and fix himself firmly in the affections of the people, notwithstanding the opposition of the ignorant and the unprincipled. Some men can do all this; our country contains many who could do it; but of these many, nearly all are otherwise occupied, and do not think of offering themselves to the work. I am convinced, that nothing like an adequate number of local schools can be established, either in the Choctaw or Cherokee nations, unless most of them are commenced upon a very humble scale. The teacher must go into a neighborhood as a single man;—he must contrive, and labor, and pray, till he gets a school-house erected, in great part, by the industry of his own hands;—he must proceed by degrees, and at small expense, and by continued industry, add one comfort after another."

According to this arrangement Mr. Evarts was to discharge the duties of Corresponding Secretary and editor of the Missionary Herald. His private papers of this period indicate surprising industry and the most conscientious employment of time. The year 1822 was commenced with a minute journal of business transacted from day to day, in which the entries were made regularly till the failure of his health. "Unless I mistake," he remarks in the first entry for the year 1823, "it is useful, as a prompter to activity and diligence, to note down, occasionally, the manner in which time is employed. I propose to commence the year in this manner. May the year now commencing be eminently devoted to God." The entries that follow are not a mere journal of what was done; they show also the time—the hours and parts of hours, devoted to various employments through the day. It was some interrupted by a recurrence of ill health. A subsequent journal, kept for a short time, shows still more minutely how every moment in the twenty-four hours was employed. It was obviously not his object when commencing these minute records, to continue them for a long time. He thought it useful, *occasionally*, in order to assure himself that his moments did not run to waste, and to strengthen his habits of activity and diligence; and these ends were attained by the watchfulness necessary for such a record for a few weeks at a time. As mere records, they would cost more than they were worth. He used them as a means of discipline.

In the early part of the year, and till late in the spring, he was much confined to his house by a weakness and irritation of the lungs, with symptoms at times that were thought alarming. "It is not a new thought to me," he says in his Journal, April 13th, 1823, (Sabbath,) "that God may very probably remove me soon from this world. Unless deceived as to my own feelings I can truly say, *Thy will be done.* May the Lord give me wisdom to spend my remaining time in his fear, and to the glory of his name,—to the benefit of my family and friends, and to the furtherance of the missionary cause. I have been providentially detained from public worship two Sabbaths in January, four in February, and two in March, before this day; which is more, I think, than I have been kept from the house of God by ill-health (beside this winter and the six Sabbaths taken up in my voyages for health) during the last twenty years. Happy could I say that my proficiency in the knowledge and love of God corresponded with my numerous advantages."

During this time he attended daily to his official and editorial duties, as his strength would permit, and with the return of warm weather was able to resume his usual habits of application.

TO THE CEYLON MISSIONARIES.

Boston, April 15, 1823.

"I am happy to inform you that your application to the American Bible Society was successful, and that we now remit the $500 which they granted for the purchase of Tamil Bibles. I was providentially present in New York when the Report of the Committee was made to the Managers; and expressed my gratification, in a very full meeting, with the reasoning and conclusion of the Report. The principle, however, of making any foreign grant, was much opposed, both in the Committee and in the Board of Managers. The ground of opposition was, as you may well suppose, that our own country is in need of more Bibles than the Society is able to furnish.

"For myself, I consider this decision as a great era in the history of the Society, and of evangelical operations in this country; and as such I rejoice in it exceedingly, independently of any bearing it may have on your mission, or any benefit which the Tamil population of India may derive from it.

We greatly desire that you may be able to set up a printing press. The reasons for such a measure multiply daily, and I cannot but hope you will be enabled to do it. Within a few days I have received a letter from Mr. Mooney, formerly of Bombay, now one of the directors of the East India Company and a member of Parliament, advising that a reinforcement be sent to the Bombay mission, and pledging himself to write to the governor, the judge, and other influential persons there, with a view to gain admission for additional missionaries. Mr. Wilberforce also wrote to me, giving assurance that he would do all in his power to promote the interests of our missions. I hope soon to write to both these gentlemen, directing their attention to certain things in which they may be very useful to us.

"We have no missionary printers on our list of applicants, although we want one much for the Mediterranean, and shall want one for Ceylon. Pray much that suitable men may offer for every department of the great work. Missionaries seem often to think that men enough of the right character can be had at a moment's warning. This is altogether a mistake. Pray that men and women may be found, who are *thoroughly furnished unto every good work*. I cannot but give thanks to God on your behalf, that you have been so much united in heart and in action. This is a peculiar smile of Providence upon your mission. May you be more and more connected together in brotherly love; and may you find by experience that the good seed of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace.

"It has also given us great pleasure that you, in common with the missionaries of the Board generally, preach to the heathen the plain doctrines of the Gospel, particularly their exposure to final and endless ruin. In connexion with this awful exposure, you doubtless find the necessity of dwelling much on the love of Christ. Ministers in this country are preaching more concerning the character of Christ than they used to do, and unquestionably you and other missionaries can bear witness that this blessed character should be held up continually to the view of the heathen.

"Permit me to add that in the communications of missionaries with home, they should avoid the language of direct reproach, accusation, or crimination of professing Christians for their supineness in the missionary warfare. However just the language of crimination may be, and however necessary that professed Christians should be made to feel their guilt in this matter, it is not best that a formal accusation should be preferred by a missionary. He may accomplish the business of arousing his countrymen by the language of gratitude for what has been done; the language of encouragement for future exertions; the language of deep and feeling lamentation for the desolations which surround him;—by the exhibition of the motives which constrain *him* to labor for the heathen; and by the description of inviting fields of labor with which he is acquainted. Let him urge the claims of perishing millions, as claims which press on the heart and conscience,—as claims which he cannot neglect or disregard. Let him represent all that is done for the heathen, though in itself a foundation for gratitude and praise unspeakable, yet as very little, when compared with the wants of the heathen world. Having done this, let him hope that others will follow his reasonings to their various conclusions; or that Christians will make the application to themselves.

"Missionaries, of all men in the world, should rely much on prayer; and there are two topics which I would commend to your special attention: one is, that God would be pleased to select such men and women for missionaries, in every department of the work, as he shall see fit to honor in making them the cheerful and voluntary instruments of his mercy: the other is, that He would select suitable persons, sufficient in number and in regular succession, to take charge of missionary affairs at home. Pray for the Committee, and for all active agents of the Board."

TO ADAM HODGSON, ESQ. LIVERPOOL.

Boston, April 20, 1823.

"I sincerely congratulate you on the success of your letters in the Christian Observer. They are very well received in this country, and are regarded as candid and just. I did intend to mention some slight errors into which you have fallen; but I know not that I shall get time. They do not, however, affect the general accuracy of the letters; nor are they of material consequence in any respect. Unless we are mistaken, the current of public opinion in Great Britain is turning in favor of the people of the United States. At least a kind and candid disposition towards us is propagated more easily than ever heretofore. If the inhabitants of both countries will be wise, they will find the highest interest of each entirely compatible with the greatest prosperity of the other. Indeed national rivalries and animosities are as unreasonable and unprofitable as they are unchristian. I am persuaded the world is learning, (but too slowly) some valuable lessons on this point. Blessed are *the peace-makers.*

"Your quotation from a letter of Mrs. More gave me and my friends great pleasure. It is delightful to see a Christian influence exerted to promote a good understanding and kind feelings between two nations which are doubtless to take an important part as instruments in fixing the moral destinies of the world."

"Aug. 15. Returned from a journey of more than five weeks through the western part of this state, and the states of Vermont and New Hampshire. It is but about sixty days before I expect to set out on a journey and agency for the Board. Much business needs to be done previously to my leaving. May the Lord give me strength to accomplish it."

The journey and agency for the Board here alluded to, occupied several months. Mr. Evarts left Boston early in December, in company with David Brown, a young Cherokee of good education and excellent character, on a visit to the Indian missions. On his way he attended public meetings in the cities and principal towns, making such statements in public as opportunity seemed to invite; transacting various business of the Board; and conferring with many clergymen and others in regard to the interests of our missionary institutions. At New York, Princeton, Philadelphia, &c., he was much engaged in consultations respecting the union of the United Foreign Missionary Society* and the American Board. The subject was then exciting great interest, and demanded of Mr. Evarts the exercise of his best judgment, and all the delicacy and prudence which even he could command. He succeeded in satisfactorily disposing of two or three plans that had attracted some attention, and in gaining general assent to one proposed by himself, and according to which, substantially, the union was afterwards effected. From Philadelphia he wrote home, urging immediate preparations for establishing a mission to China, with a sketch of a plan, based on information derived from persons engaged in the China trade. At Washington he spent about three weeks. Congress was in session, and some important questions relating to the Indians were under consideration, and he exerted himself to prevent any decision injurious to their religious interests. His letters to his associates at home had been very frequent; but after spending more than two weeks in Washington, he remarked: "I hardly know how it has come to pass that I have not written to you from this place, except on the evening of my arrival. My time has been so much divided by calls on members of Congress, on the Cherokee delegation, and on others who might exert an influence, greater or less, on our missionary concerns, that I have scarcely been able to do the necessary writing for persons on the spot." One of the questions that occasioned Mr. Evarts some solicitude was the repeal of the law by which a fund of $10,000 a year was placed at the disposal of the President, to be used in promoting the civilization of the Indians,—a measure which some influential persons had a settled design to carry. He had the satisfaction to see the plan defeated. In regard, also, to the claims which the State of Georgia were then beginning to urge, he left Washington in confident hope that they would not prevail. "The Cherokees," he said, "are determined, not to sell another foot of their land; and so long as they remain firm in their purpose, the people of this country will not forcibly dispossess them."

---

* This Society originated in 1817, in the union of the New York Missionary Society, formed in 1796; the Northern Missionary Society, (in the State of New York,) 1797; and the Western Missionary Society (Pittsburgh,) 1802. Its missions were among the Indians exclusively.

At New York he met Mr. Robertson,* who had proposed to go as a missionary to the Jews in Western Asia, under the patronage of a society of ladies in Boston, auxiliary to the Board.

"Jan. 8. On my stating that we deemed it improper for us to send out any missionaries who did not regard our other missionaries as ministers of the Gospel, and was not willing to unite with them in the ordinances of religion, he observed that, though he did not wish to decide that they were not ministers of the Gospel, and though he had no doubt that the ordinances, as administered by them, were valid to such as received them in faith ; yet he hesitated, to admit them himself as ministers in the Christian church, and could not, with his present views, receive the sacrament at their hands. I had two long interviews with him. He entirely concurs with us in the propriety of our employing in the same field those only who can act together as ministers in the celebration of the sacraments and in the establishment of churches. I expressed a wish that he might go out in the employment of the Episcopal Missionary Society, and assured him that our missionaries would rejoice to co-operate with him in any works of benevolence. He thought that society would not be able to send a missionary for a long time to come."

---

* Rev. J. J. Robertson, D. D., afterwards Episcopal missionary at Athens and Constantinople.

To a friend who had been employed to assist in the business of his office :

Wilmington, Del. January 17th, 1824.

"Permit me to hail you as a fellow laborer in the greatest and best of causes. A fellow laborer, indeed, you have been heretofore; but now, in a more peculiar and intimate sense, we sustain this happy relationship to each other. Though I am not informed to what extent your services are expected, as to duration or the object to which they will be applied, I earnestly desire that you may experience the divine direction in all that you do or attempt for the spread of the Gospel as an agent for the Christian public.

"Before I left Boston, the principal heavy business of my department was despatched, viz. : the Annual Report, the fitting out assistant missionaries, with all the preparatory measures respecting them, the reinforcement to Bombay, and the appointment, commissioning, and instruction of agents.

"There must be some correspondence during my absence ; but the most important business is the intercourse with the public by means of the press. Here great caution and deliberation are necessary, both in regard to facts and reasonings. In the statement of facts it is the easiest thing in the world to make mistakes, by trusting one's self at all beyond the limits of unquestionable authority. Of this you must have been aware from your connection with the Recorder; but you can hardly be so fully aware of it as you would be after a ten years' acquaintance with original documents from which publications have been made and subjected to the eyes of the writers.

"In regard to reasonings and motives presented to the Christian public, there is need of still greater caution. I have never felt the weight of my employment so much, in regard to any one thing, as in regard to this. Not to say any thing which shall let down the standard of missionary feeling, and of the duties imposed upon Christians by the missionary cause, or which shall by its boldness and apparently severe requisitions, offend some of the real friends of the cause, is a delicate and difficult point.

"I would recommend to the Committee that they make immediate arrangements for the next annual meeting, in order to give it a more popular cast than heretofore."

TO THE REV. CYRUS KINGSBURY.

City of Washington, Feb. 1, 1824.
Sabbath evening.

"It seems to me that the prospects of the Indians, so far as their connexion with the government of the United States is to be regarded, are very dark and discouraging. The doctrines now held, go the full length of asserting that the Indians can have no separate community for any length of time, within the limits of any State; of course, not within the limits of the United States. The Cherokee delegation is here, and in not a little trouble. I feel distressed for them; but can think of no relief for them as a people, unless our whole American community were to become just and benevolent, which is not to be expected. As missionaries and friends of missions, we must do what we can."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

Washington City, February 6, 1824.

"Pray inform me how the collections go on for the Boston Foreign Missionary Society. I am anxious that a full effort should be made there. Unless I am mistaken, Boston is more able, whether the rich or the middling people are regarded, to raise a larger sum annually, than any other city in the Union. There are more persons whose living is within their income, than elsewhere. The great enemy of charitable exertion is expensiveness of living—and this threatens to destroy everything good in this country. The Moravians could send missionaries. Why? Because the plainest style of living satisfied them, and a large part of their scanty earnings could be spared for the sake of the gospel."

TO MR. S. A. WORCESTER.*

Fredericksburgh, Va., February 14, 1824.

"I regret to see, in the Recorder of February 7th, some things which I communicated concerning Dr. ——— and his church. It was proper to read that paragraph at the monthly concert; but, on several accounts, quite a mistake to print the substance of it. I feel this subject the more, as Dr. ——— is peculiarly averse to *making a noise*, as he expressed it, concerning a revival of religion. He was afraid that too much had been done of this sort, with reference to the revival in Boston, and said that he should regret nothing so much as to set people talking of the revival in his congregation. He did not even call it by that name, though there were thirty new inquirers, if I remember right, the week that I had this conversation with him. If not thirty *new inquirers*, there were that number under very deep and serious impressions. I told him that Mr. Dwight and others at Boston, were quite opposed to making a noise about a revival, and entirely agreed with him in thinking that it always had an unfavorable effect upon persons in a state of religious anxiety to set them talking about others, and to let them suppose that others are talking about them. I do not mean to intimate, however, that it is not useful and proper to say something of a revival during its continuance; but it requires much judgment to know what to say."

---

* Then an assistant in Mr. Evarts's office; since, a missionary to the Cherokees.

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

Campbell County, Va., March 1, 1824.

"Another monthly concert has arrived. You have been permitted to meet this evening in a place more dear to my recollections than almost any other, and to unite with friends to whom I am attached by many strong and tender ties in offering supplications for the extension of the church and the salvation of perishing men. Though in a remote country inn, I have directed my thoughts to the place of your solemnities—and, unless I am deceived, have been with you in spirit. I have rarely had a more impressive view of the grandeur and glory of this voluntary union of so many thousands, dispersed through so many countries, in asking for the greatest blessings which are ever bestowed upon this guilty world. The excitement of such a spirit as is evinced by so extensive a union for prayer, may justly be considered as decisive evidence that the Lord has a special favor for the missionary cause, and will at last make it triumphant."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

Abingdon, Va., March 9, 1824.

"I left all remains of snow yesterday morning, as I have descended several hundred feet toward the valley of the Mississippi. There is much good land in the counties through which this road passes. Were it not for slavery, this mountain region would be a most delightful place for a New England farmer to select for his residence. The winter is quite cold enough to impart vigor, and the climate is very healthy. I have now travelled about four hundred and fifty miles in Virginia, during this journey, and I never saw so much occasion to lament the introduction of the blacks into our continent. If not one had entered the limits of this State, it would have been the most populous and the most wealthy State in the Union, and would, in all probability, have permanently maintained the ascendancy. All religious and moral institutions might have flourished. Instead of this, a moral desolation is spreading over many parts of it."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

Greenville College, Green County,
East Tennessee, March 12, 1824.

"Crossed the Holston just below its junction with the Watanga. It is a curious fact, indicating the want of enterprize in this country, that there is not a single bridge over the Holston, (which afterwards takes the name of Tennessee,) from its source to its mouth; and yet there is not a river in the United States over which it would be more easy to erect durable bridges. There is one bridge, I am told, over the north branch of the Holston. At many crossings, on roads not much travelled, there is no ferry; and when the waters are high, the traveller must wait till they subside, unless he will swim his horse.

"The soil of East Tennessee is much more generally capable of cultivation than any part of New England. There are some steep and rocky hills; but in many parts, for miles together, you will not find an acre which might not be advantageously ploughed. Yet the population is sparse, and the greater part of the country is still a forest. The people can easily be supplied with the necessaries of life; but the prices of foreign commodities are very high, and are paid for with great difficulty. It is evident that, with the same labor, a man may live much more comfortably, as a laboring farmer, than in New England; and yet, in point of fact, the farmers of New England live more comfortably than the same class of people here. The difference is made partly by habits formed here, when the country was in a much ruder state than it is at present."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

March 13, 1824.

"In my letter from Abingdon, I expressed my belief that religion was in a more encouraging state here, than at almost any previous time. Some facts which you may feel an interest in knowing, are as follows:

"When Mr. McE. was settled, which was about six years ago, he had but one man in his church who was willing to pray in public, or to take any leading part in social meetings; now he has thirty-five such men, and prayer meetings are very frequent. Men of influence, who are not admitted as church members, attend public worship with increasing seriousness, and the avowal of infidelity is much more rare than in former years.

"Mr. G., the Presbyterian clergyman of J.——, has admitted sixty members into the two churches over which he is pastor, during the last year. This place has a very religious character, though formerly it was the reverse. The number of families in the village I should suppose to be somewhere between seventy and one hundred; and I am told, that, in more than three quarters of them, family worship is constantly maintained.

"Mr. G., the Presbyterian clergyman of R.——, had admitted one hundred to the communion of the two churches over which he is pastor, within the year past; and in these several congregations prospects are very pleasing at present. Since I was in this part of the country, less than two years ago, several of the most active lawyers, some of whom I then saw, have made a profession of religion. One of these, Mr. ——, was admitted to the church just before he set out on his way to Washington, as a member of the present Congress. On the evening before his departure, a small social meeting for prayer in his behalf was held at his house. He is a young man, and this is the first session he has been a member.

"I arrived at J.—— on Wednesday evening rather late. On calling at the minister's residence, I found he had gone to an evening meeting. So far as I could judge, a large part of the people were going also, though the walking was very bad. I resorted to a tavern formerly kept by a religious man now deceased, and sat some time in the public room, where seven or eight farmers had formed a circle round the fire. The court was in session, and they were attending. They conversed freely on various subjects; and during my stay I did not hear from them a word of profaneness, levity, slander, or passion; in short, not a word that would lead a stranger to form an unfavorable opinion of any one of the number. I would not have you infer that there is no profaneness here; but I have been many times in taverns, at court time, in country towns of New England, and a similar statement could not always, (I fear not often) be made respecting them.

"As I approach the seat of the Cherokee mission, I deeply feel the need of divine assistance in discharging the duties which devolve upon me on this journey. Without this aid I shall do nothing to good account. The Committee, I hope, will not cease to pray for me. Any counsels which they may impart, will be thankfully received and diligently regarded. I beseech the Lord of missions to guide the Committee in all things, and to have the operations of our Board under his peculiar care. May he raise up more faithful and successful instruments than any which have yet been used."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

Clover Hill, Blount Co., E. Tennessee, March 22, 1824.

"Two days ago I wrote you a short letter from Knoxville, in which I acknowledged having received the melancholy tidings of my father's death. This event, though long anticipated, is attended by many painful reflections; and I feel more inclined to indulge in sadness, than on any former occasion. I have no disposition, I trust, to murmur at the dispensations of divine Providence; but my heart is distressed on account of the sin and guilt under which our race are suffering, and which bring upon them sickness and death and other innumerable evils; and my mind dwells on a thousand circumstances, connected with this relation to a parent now gone, which no other person could feel or understand.* Yet I know it is my duty to pursue the course in which I am engaged, and to communicate such things relative to my journey, as may possibly be of some use to us hereafter."

"Thursday, 18. The following are some of the principal external difficulties in the way of establishing the ordinances of the Gospel, in this part of the country, so that all the people may be within the reach of stated preaching:

---

* During the latter years of his life, Mr. James Evarts suffered much from various losses and perplexities, under which the son exerted himself greatly to aid and sustain him. He never made a public profession of faith in Christ. "For many months," says one of his associates, who was also at the time a member of his family, "for many months Mr. Evarts was in the habit of inviting me into his study every Sabbath morning, with few exceptions, to look to Heaven with united voice for his aged father."

"1. The inhabitants live much dispersed. The plan of their settlement seems to have been, to remove as far from neighbors as possible. Their farms are very large, and much intervening forest is left among the plantations. They have no wish, generally speaking, to live on a public road; they seldom associate or confer together for any common purpose; and they get into such habits of living alone, that it seems almost impossible to impart to them the same principles of social conduct as exist among people in different circumstances. They have no division into townships and parishes, and of course none of that small municipal legislation and government, which are of immense value at the north, in making the people acquainted with each other, and forming the rudiments of our republican institutions.

"2. The people, besides being dispersed over a great surface of territory, are much divided as to religious profession. You will find, for instance, a Presbyterian here, and his neighbors will be Baptists or Methodists, and you will have to travel miles before you find another Presbyterian.

"3. A general prejudice prevails against supporting ministers by a regular salary. This prejudice is so powerful, that it would ruin the prospects of a candidate to say any thing about his support. Of course, there can be no dependence upon preaching, as a certain means of maintaining the preacher. Mr. A. observed to me last evening, that when people give something to a minister here, they do it rather from friendship, or a warm personal attachment, than as a compensation for valuable services. The Methodists and Baptists, that is, many of them, preach vehemently against salaries.

"4. There is no such thing in this country as thoroughness or perseverance in any plan of united and concentrated action. If a good undertaking is begun to-day, this is no reason why it should not be abandoned tomorrow.

"5. The ignorance of a large proportion of the people is very great. Many who can read, are still very poor readers, and in fact read little or nothing. They have few common schools, and these not very good.

"These obstacles appear so great, that many persons have concluded that this western world must be given over to hopeless ignorance and wickedness. I am of a different opinion. The country is undoubtedly improving, though not so fast as Christian benevolence would desire. Such is the constitution of human things, that moral changes cannot be effected, in a large community, at once; but God has abundantly shown, I think, that the new settlements in the United States are not to be given up to spiritual desolation. There is great need, however, of public spirit, in order to rescue the present generation from vice and ignorance."

Arriving on the 25th of March at Brainerd, he immediately commenced a course of investigation into the state of the mission, and of consultation with its members, which led to important changes. A laborious week was spent with the missionaries there. He made an excursion, occupying thirteen days, to the local schools in different parts of the nation. Examples of obdurate depravity, ignorance, and dissipation that he met with among the natives, affected him deeply. After lodging at the house of a Cherokee, where instances of these obstacles to the influence of divine truth forced themselves on his attention, he remarks:

"It is certainly no easy matter to reclaim an ignorant, a vicious, and a savage people. Yet it can be accomplished, and it will be accomplished. In many places the work may be long and arduous; in some it may retrograde; but it will ultimately be effectual every where. It is very obvious, however, that nothing but the promises of Scripture could have prompted to missionary exertions on the part of those who have any just views of the human heart and of the inveteracy of bad habits. The evil of intemperate drinking will hardly be restrained in any neighborhood till schools are established in it; or at least, till there are some means of stated instruction. On this account it is particularly important that the youths educated at Brainerd or elsewhere, should be competent to teach school, and to bear a firm and consistent testimony against vice in every shape. All our plans for the benefit of this people will come to nothing, unless God be pleased to continue the work of genuine conversion, which we trust he has begun, and of which there are some bright examples."

He found much, however, to encourage him. He met with intelligent natives who appeared to be devotedly pious, and saw evidence that God was calling others to repentance. He was pleased with the appearance of the recent converts. "The manner of the Cherokees who pray in public," he says, "is humble and reverential, and at the greatest remove from any thing boisterous or ostentatious. They speak without hesitation, and in as low a tone as is consistent with being heard." He had the pleasure, also, of again visiting Mr. Gambold, the Moravian missionary, and of conversing with him on various important missionary subjects, particularly those relating to missions among the Cherokees. He found this excellent man fully sympathising with him in regard to their political prospects, and "well aware that a general cession of territory would be their certain destruction, not only as a community, but as individuals."

After returning to Brainerd and another week of severe labor, he succeeded in completing, much to the satisfaction of all parties, the changes that seemed desirable in regard to the location of the several mission families, and the arrangement of their labors. He left the nation with the conviction that never before had there been so much encouragement to evangelical labor among the Cherokees, as then, and entreating the prayers of all, that a blessing might follow the changes that had been made.

It would be natural to look in his correspondence or among his papers, after a visit like this to a people in a state of transition from barbarism to the habits of civilized and Christian life, for a full record of the results of his observations. Some fragments of the kind are in fact at hand, written at a midnight hour, after a day of severe labor, or while providentially detained at the dwelling of a rude and intoxicated Indian. And when leaving Brainerd, he wrote to his associates that he had materials enough for many letters, but expressing doubt when, if ever, he should be able to write them out. The fact was, that he was incessantly at work on the business intrusted to him,—business of immense importance, and the weight of which pressed heavily upon him. His remarkable memory, with documents and notes having immediate reference to that business, would suffice, he knew, for the purposes of the Committee and the Board; and although he delighted in writing, and was ready to seize for that purpose every moment not otherwise occupied, he found little opportunity even to sketch the facts and characteristics that were continually arresting his attention. The traveller, the philanthropist, the man, were kept in abeyance; while every moment and every faculty were devoted to the duties of the agent. His mission was discharged with all faithfulness and energy; and a sufficient record of it as a matter of business, was scrupulously kept. But this was about all. "It may be thought," he says at a later period, of his tour—"it may be thought that I should say more about the missions. The fact is, I cannot give a fair representation in a few sentences. There are many encouragements, and not a few things that ought to teach us wisdom. It is not an easy thing to conduct missions. May the Lord take the cause under his own special care and protection."

Having completed his business among the Cherokees, he left Brainerd on the 21st of April, and hastened on to the discharge of similar duties in the Choctaw nation. Several weeks were spent there, principally at Mayhew, where he met several missionaries from their stations. "There are many things at Mayhew," he says, "to please the eye and cheer the heart of the Christian traveller. The natural scenery is both grand and beautiful. As one approaches the mission houses, either from the east or the south, the whole aspect of surrounding objects is fitted to awaken lofty and solemn thoughts. A prairie of unequalled magnificence, covered with luxuriant vegetation, and skirted with the forests of many centuries, invites even the careless to admire the varied works of God. In the margin of this delightful amphitheatre, rise the habitations of those messengers of peace who have taken up their abode with uncivilized men for the sake of their spiritual good. Here is agriculture, beginning to call forth the riches of the soil; and the mechanic arts, promoting the comfort and resources of the people; and schools, training the young to principles of knowledge and virtue; and the church, the pillar and ground of the truth, receiving converts from heathenism and preparing them for Heaven."

The investigations and arrangements of his laborious agency having been completed, he returned by way of Natchez and New Orleans,—taking passage thence to New York early in June. During this tour, he says, "I stood by the grave of Catharine Brown, visited her relatives, saw abundant proofs of the increase of religion in the Cherokee nation, and conferred with all the missionaries on the condition of their respective stations. Every mission has its troubles and difficulties; and the truth is very manifest in all parts of the earth, that "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

The remainder of the year was spent chiefly at home, in the usual duties of his office; with the additional labor, however, of employing several agents in the formation of auxiliaries and associations, and the preparation of several tracts to assist in the same object of a more general organization in aid of the Board. A few extracts from his correspondence will close the chapter. The first relates to general topics of missionary duty; others, to an interruption of missionary labors through the violence of wicked men; and the last is to the bereaved widow of a missionary. They show with what care he watched to promote the well-being and usefulness of missionaries, and how tenderly he sympathized in their trials.

TO REV. CEPHAS WASHBURN.

Natchez, May 28, 1824.

"Missions to the heathen are established with a view to the salvation of perishing souls. The object is altogether a religious one, and it should be held continually in view. Piety should be cultivated in all the members of a mission family, and by all the means which are conducive to that end. Still it is evident, that much labor of the hands, and much care and reflection must be applied to secular things, in order that any mission may be prosperous; and especially is this the case with missions where boarding schools are maintained. This secular labor must be undertaken and performed from religious motives; and being thus performed, it should proceed with as much alacrity, vigor, and perseverance, as are exercised by prudent men in any worldly pursuit.

"As missions are supported at great expense, economy in the use of money, time, and labor, is of very great importance. This should be esteemed an indispensable duty, whether the circumstances and wishes of donors, the obligations of the Board to the Christian community, or the wants of the heathen are considered.

"To promote economy in the use of *money*, the following suggestions, with reference to all our Indian missions, may be of use. It is to be considered, that these missions have been supplied by the liberality of the Christian public in a more abundant manner, probably, than any other missions supported by Protestant Christendom. In keeping up the establishments already formed, it may be well to observe the following rules ; viz.

"1. In all purchases for the use of a mission, let the inquiry be, *What can we do without, consistently with health and the advantageous prosecution of our work?* and not, *What would be agreeable to us?* The first inquiry is made of necessity by ninety-nine hundredths of the human race ; or rather an inquiry much more moderate and humble. And even in the most favored parts of the Christian world, and among the most industrious of the people, their expenses are all the while limited by necessity, making slow and gradual advances to comfort and convenience. Shall missionaries wish to be better supplied than the immense multitude of their brethren, even in those places where prudence and industry meet with their best reward? The fewer articles there are on hand, the less time and care are necessary to prevent loss and waste. I have always found, when on journeys, that the fewer articles I have had with me, the more comfortably I have got along. Missionaries are pilgrims.

"2. Let there be as little hired labor as possible. Before any person is hired, let it be rendered as certain as the nature of human things will admit, that the labor will be profitable, and will redound to the substantial interest of the establishment. And during the progress of the labor, let this be held continually in view ; and, whenever it is found that labor is unprofitable, discontinue it.

"3. Be careful with whom you intrust property, either in greater or smaller sums.

"In regard to economy of *time*, let it be considered, that opportunities of doing good are fleeting and uncertain ; that every year is immensely important to our Indian tribes ; that the commencement of other missions to the Aborigines depends much on the success of those which are now in existence; and that the real conversion of the natives should not be lost sight of, as the mark at which you are aiming. Your duties should, therefore, be so assigned and divided, that all the time may be perfectly occupied, and none of it be permitted to escape without answering some valuable end.

"As to economy of *labor*, what I would principally call your attention to, is the duty of so arranging all your business, that there shall not be any unnecessary labor, either of your own hands, or of persons hired. It should be an object, therefore, to avoid, or rather save, labor in regard to things where it has been thought necessary. Very great improvements can frequently be made in this matter, without encroaching upon the claims of neatness or comfort. Provided these two objects are secured, there should be little sacrifice for any thing further; nor should even comfort be insisted on as indispensable. Many of the servants of God, in every age, have labored in very uncomfortable circumstances. But with care, industry, and patience, it will rarely happen that comfort will, for a long time, be withheld from a faithful missionary.

"The more I become acquainted with missionary concerns, the more deeply impressed my mind becomes with the truth, that there must be self-denial, there must be arduous labor, there must be watchful care, there must be unremitting diligence, in order to the successful prosecution of the missionary work. It is not an easy matter to raise up the ignorant to knowledge and virtue, to reclaim the wicked, and to minister in bringing to life and holiness those who were dead in trespasses and sins. This labor will beget fatigue, and sometimes sickness; all which is to be meekly and quietly received, as part of the dealings of a wise and holy Providence.

"Permit me to say, my dear sir, that I shall long remember with pleasure and gratitude the interesting hours and days which we spent together, in the course of our late journey; and that I feel a personal attachment which can only arise from personal acquaintance. May the Lord preserve you, and enable you to serve him acceptably, and make you a blessing to the heathen."

REV. CYRUS KINGSBURY, CHOCTAWS.

Boston, December 7, 1824.

"You have experienced a great loss in the death of Mr. Moseley. He was a man of an excellent spirit, and of true devotedness. I little thought, when we were consulting last May, that he would be the first to be called from his work. Let his goodness, faith, and patience stimulate survivors to a faithful discharge of their respective trusts.

"The concerns of the Indian missions lie with great weight upon my mind. Their situation is very critical. I do not apprehend them in immediate danger of extinction; but, unless I mistake, they are in great danger of coming far short of our hopes, and of what might be deemed our reasonable expectations; I mean, the reasonable expectations of the Christian public, considering the encouraging appearances held out, and the vast expenses incurred.

"The question recurs, how shall this danger be averted? Let this question be well pondered. The Lord must build the house, or it will never be built. But how will he build it? In my opinion, he will build it by *an improved character, a more holy and self-denying service,* in those whom he employs in every department of the work. I do not believe a mere alteration of plan will do much. Some improvements, suggested by experience, may be valuable; but the great improvement to be desired, in the Christian public, in the Committee, in preaching and assistant missionaries, is, greater love for the souls of the heathen, which will lead to a more active, cheerful, and successful prosecution of the work.

"May the Lord deliver us from our weakness, and supply our manifold deficiencies, and save the souls of the poor benighted heathen, for his name's sake; and to Him shall be the glory."

TO MR. MOODY HALL, CHEROKEES.

Boston, August 20, 1824.

"I do not wonder that you were greatly alarmed at the attack of Pritchett; and especially that Mrs. Hall had distressing apprehensions. But now that you have had time to examine and consider, I do strongly hope that you will not be driven into precipitate measures. The whole interruption I consider to be the work of the devil, to prevent the salvation of souls; and I exhort you not to give place to the devil. If you do, he will drive you from one place to another, till he drives you out of your employment, and far away from the service of God. Mrs. Hall will consider that she is under the divine protection; that no evil can come near her, but by permission of her heavenly Father; and that all things shall work together for good to those who love God—to those who are called according to his purpose. I exhort her to possess her soul in patience.

"I feel very solicitous respecting your new converts, and pray that you and Mr. Butrick may have the wisdom to advise, direct, and exhort them in such a manner, that, by the grace of God, they may all stand firm."

TO THE CHEROKEE CONVERTS WHO HAVE BEEN UNITED IN THE CHURCH AT CARMEL.

Boston, August 21, 1824.

"I cannot begin my letter to you without speaking of the goodness of God to you in sending you the gospel, and in causing you to hear it, and inclining your hearts to receive it. Unite with me in giving thanks to God for his unspeakable gift.

"The assault made upon Mr. Hall, on the 26th of April last, was heard of by me with sorrow. The painful apprehensions which he and his family suffered, are much to be regretted, as they broke off his useful labors for a season, and cast a cloud over the station. Let me exhort you, brethren and sisters, to some duties which present circumstances call for.

"In the first place, I doubt not you will treat Mr. and Mrs. Hall with particular kindness and attention. Christianity makes men kind to each other. Especially should the professors of religion be kind to their teachers, and to those who have devoted their lives to the service of Christ as missionaries. Study, therefore, I beseech you, those things which will promote the comfort and happiness of your teachers. Endeavor to render them more and more useful. Add your influences to theirs. You will not fail, I hope, to bear a decided testimony against all disorderly conduct. Teach the young what evils come from bad company, profaneness and drinking. Do all in your power to make your settlement distinguished for order, sobriety, and good morals.

"Again. I exhort you to a life of purity, industry, sobriety, and prayer. The time of our sojourning here is short. The day of the Lord is at hand. Soon we shall appear before him. All our thoughts will then be known; all our motives will then be examined. May the Lord enable us to see that day with joy, and not with grief. You did well that you invited Mr. Hall to return. May his return be blessed to you and your children."

TO MRS. S. C. MOSELEY, CHOCTAWS.

Boston, December 7, 1824.

"The hand of the Lord has indeed been laid heavily upon you, and you have tasted of the cup of sorrow. For a time you may have nearly sunk under the weight of affliction. We sympathize with you in your trials, and pray that the Lord may cause all that has befallen you to work together for your good. And this I doubt not he will do; for I trust you are among his friends, among the called according to his purpose. Amidst all your distresses, how numerous are the mercies you have enjoyed! The great and crowning mercy is, the confident assurance that your dearest earthly friend has entered into a state of perfect enjoyment, of uninterrupted holiness and joy. Add to this the reflection that God knew the best time and manner for his removal, and is able to answer by it his unknown purposes of love and grace. Your plans of domestic happiness are indeed interrupted; but you may yet be able to see that it was for your improvement in the divine life, and preparation for higher employments, when you shall be united to your departed consort in the world of the blessed. When I saw Mr. Moseley at Mayhew, and consulted with him and the other missionaries, I little thought he would be summoned away from his labors so soon. His health appeared better to me than it was in fact. I should have judged him very likely to live to old age. But the Lord seeth not as man seeth. With him our days are numbered, and he fixes the bounds of our habitation. I cannot avoid bearing testimony to the excellent spirit which I think was in our departed friend and brother. His temper was amiable and candid; he expressed his opinions with modesty and with decision; his eye was single, and his great object was the approbation of his Master. His truly missionary example will long be remembered by his associates. They will, as I trust, profit by it. And now, dear madam, what remains, but to commit yourself and all your interests into the hands of your heavenly Father, with steadfast faith? Ask of him wisdom and a truly devoted spirit, that you may serve him acceptably in whatever sphere you may be called to act. Soon our opportunities of service will be over. Let us do what we can for that blessed Saviour, who has done so much for us. To be a successful missionary requires not only much piety, but much activity and diligence and patient, persevering labor. In no other way can the ignorant be instructed, so as to be thoroughly acquainted with the gospel plan of salvation. Much preparatory service is necessary in order to authorize a hope that saving truth may be communicated. It gave me pleasure to hear that you had accompanied Mr. Smith to Eliot with the design of teaching a school there. May the Lord give you some immortal souls from among the young Choctaw females, as the reward of faithful exertions and importunate prayers.

"I am, dear madam, with affectionate remembrance to the brethren and sisters at Eliot, yours in the gospel, which alone can bring true consolation."

CHAPTER VI.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY. 1825–1827.

Before the end of January, 1825, the labors of Mr. Evarts were again interrupted, to considerable extent, by ill health; and by advice of his physician he sought relief in a warmer climate, and took passage for Charleston, South Carolina. During the voyage, he prepared for the Missionary Herald a characteristic article on the British and Foreign Bible Society. After details respecting the funds and operations of the Society, collected from its latest Report, he proceeds, in the tone of devoted Christian philanthropy that with him had become habitual:

> "It is gratifying to observe the zeal, enterprise, and perseverance, by which this institution has been raised to such a state of prosperity. There are many facts in its history, not only in a high degree honorable to its patrons and conductors, but very encouraging to the conductors of other religious charities. The point has now been settled by actual experiment, that large sums of money can be raised in voluntary contributions, with a good degree of regularity, through a series of years, for the promotion of the spiritual interests of mankind. It has been proved, also, that an association of individuals may call to its aid such an amount of talent, character, and public spirit, as shall secure the respect and confidence of an intelligent community, notwithstanding the opposition of men of perverted minds. There seems to be no inherent difficulty in enlarging these operations to any extent which shall be necessary or desirable. Let the energies of Christendom be directed to the moral renovation of the human race, and greater things will be accomplished, both as to means and results, labors

and successes, designs and achievements, than the most sanguine friends of Bible and Missionary Societies have ever conceived.

"It is a very happy circumstance attending the exertions of this great institution, that much the larger portion of its funds is supplied by the poor, and those who, if not poor, are yet far removed from affluence. It would be easy for a few rich men to contribute a much larger sum than has yet been received; but nothing could be more unhappy than for the rich to be the only persons who should feel themselves called upon to take part in religious charities. There are some who seem to lament that a poor man should even be invited to take any part in those labors of love, which are designed to honor his Saviour, and promote the salvation of his fellow men. Never was compassion more misplaced. It is, indeed, a shallow philosophy, which supposes that a poor man is a loser, either as to present enjoyment or future hopes, by cheerfully giving a part of his earnings to purchase a Bible for his family, or to send one to a distant stranger. The fact is unquestionable, that a habit of earning and saving money for religious charity is a most prolific source of enjoyment. It cannot be otherwise. The design is elevated, and imparts its dignity to the mind of a poor man, as easily as to the mind of a rich man. The affections called into exercise are benevolent, and tend only to happiness. The man who sincerely endeavors to do good to his fellow men, always receives an ample reward. Especially is this the case when he consults their highest interests, in the use of divinely appointed means, and from evangelical motives. It would be equally absurd and cruel, therefore, to debar the poor man the privilege of casting his mite into the treasury of the Lord. Rather ought he to be encouraged to make larger and still larger offerings, as God shall enable him; for it may be safely affirmed, that no one who pursues this course, will have occasion to regret it, either here or hereafter.

"These voluntary contributions, collected from so many thousands of individuals, and mostly in small sums, cannot be obtained without great exertions in the way of solicitation, the institution of auxiliary societies, the attending of annual meetings, and the distribution of the Society's publications. In the cities and large towns throughout Great Britain, committees of ladies and gentlemen spend much time in soliciting subscriptions and calling to receive the payment. In some cities, perhaps in many, ladies call weekly on the poor to receive their subscriptions of a penny a week. Many distinguished clergymen take journeys, make addresses, and excite the friends of the Society to continued exertions. One gentleman, Mr. C. S. Dudley, has been employed for several years as an agent, in forming and visiting societies in different parts of England. The secretaries, assistant secretaries, and clerks, must employ much of their time in the various business of raising funds, as well as in the extensive correspondence of the Society. All this labor must be continued and increased, if the operations of the Society are continued and increased. The friends of religious charities must not complain, therefore, if they find agencies necessary, unless they would renounce the objects of their attachment and abandon them for ever. Without agents the business cannot be done at all. Without numerous, active, devoted, public-spirited agents, it cannot be done effectually.

"In this view of the subject, those who are engaged, either statedly or occasionally, in soliciting the charities of others, should take encouragement to proceed without relaxation in their work. Their part of the process is as important as that of the printer or the translator of the Scriptures, or the missionary among the heathen.

"We are unwilling to close these remarks without adverting to the small proportion which the money expended in religious charity bears to that which is paid for various other objects. The annual income of the British and Foreign Bible Society is thought to be a large sum; and it certainly is not a small one: but it is but about a *nine hundredth part* of the annual war expenses of Great Britain, during several years of the late European contest; and less than a *three hundredth part* of the annual interest now paid by that nation on its war debt. If the sum annually raised by the Bible Society were divided among all the families in the United Kingdom, it would afford about *ten cents* to each family; whereas the amount annually paid, during a series of years, for the support of the late war, was not less than *ninety dollars* to each family; and the present annual interest of the war debt is *thirty dollars* or more, probably *thirty-five dollars*, to each family. Now it would be as practicable, *were the people so inclined*, to spend *ninety dollars for each family* through a series of years, for the distribution of the Bible, the support of missionaries, the circulation of tracts, the religious education of the poor, and other similar purposes, as it was to spend the same sum for carrying on a war. We would not be understood as saying that it would be practicable to bear both classes of expense, to this full extent, at the same time. But, in the nature of things, it would be as easy for a great populous nation to make a decided and vigorous demonstration of its power and its resources for the honor of God and the salvation of men, as it is for the same nation to make a like demonstration of its power in supporting a popular war, or defending itself from a threatened invasion. Nor would we be understood to intimate how large a sum might be wisely expended in the great and stupendous process of meliorating the moral condition of man; evidently, however, a much larger sum than has ever yet been devoted to this purpose. The men of future times will have the largeness of heart, and those results of experience, which will enable them to direct the energies of wiser and more enlightened generations than have yet lived upon earth. To them may be left the plans and estimates of that vast moral machinery, which is to affect the millions of the human race.

"But to return from this digression;—though war is the most expensive of all the favorite pursuits of man, there are various other ways of spending money, which absorb enormous sums, compared with which, the religious charities of the day are a trifle.

There are several great landholders in Great Britain, and several capitalists in its metropolis, each of whom has an income greater than that of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and it is quite moderate to say that the sums expended by the rich in luxurious living, and by them and others in various kinds of intemperance and gross vice, is one or two hundred times greater than the aggregate of all that is paid to the Bible Society, and to missionary Societies, with all their kindred institutions.

"To form some judgment of what might be accomplished, in the way of charity, by the people of the British Islands, let the following view be taken.

"1. Let us suppose that the *poor only* were to take hold of the business of religious charity; but that they were to do it with the utmost zeal and alacrity—with the same spirit which actuated the poor widow in the Gospel, whose liberality is commemorated and approved by our Saviour himself;—with the same alacrity which enabled the Jews under Nehemiah's direction to complete the wall of the rising city, the rapid progress of which undertaking is sufficiently accounted for, when the sacred historian says, *for the people had a mind to work*;—with that patience which supports men in the pursuit of an object dear to their heart, and attainable by their exertions;—and with that just estimate, which prefers the pearl of great price to all other acquisitions.

There are probably in the British Islands not far from four millions of families; of whom, in the present prosperous times, not more than one tenth are paupers. Let the dividing line between the rich, the middling, and the poorer classes, be so drawn as to include 100,000 families in the first class, 500,000 in the second, and 3,000,000 in the third. Now if these three millions of families were to appropriate to public works of beneficence all that could be saved by abandoning every vice, how vast would be the amount received! If there were no intemperate drinking, no gaming, no quarrelling, no litigation, no lewdness, no idleness; and all this multitude were industriously employed in providing for their own wants, and then in earning and saving for the cause of Christ, who does not see that their united contributions would form an aggregate of many millions?

"2. If the 500,000 families in middling circumstances were to put forth their full strength in the prosecution of the same work, the result would be still greater. There are few who could not give their tens, and many could give their hundreds. It is to be remembered that this class of persons contains a large part of the moral and intellectual force of every country. Here is enterprise, here is industry, which, in the ordinary course of Divine Providence, will command success.

"3. There remain 100,000 families of the rich, possessing a greater amount of wealth than any equal number of families in any nation upon earth. Here is the opulent landholder, whose rents surpass the revenues of petty States. Here is the great banker, who lends money to the crowned heads of Europe, and the republican governments of America. Here is the merchant, whose ships visit every country, and exchange the commodities of every climate; and here the enterprising manufacturer, whose skill and capital employ the industry of thousands. Every head of a family in this class could give his hundreds; many their thousands; some their tens of thousands. If all the individuals of this class were actuated by the enlarged liberality of Zaccheus, when he said, *half my goods I give to the poor;* if they were disposed to comply with the spirit of our Saviour's direction, *sell that ye have and give alms;* if they were as much alive to the moral condition of the world, as the wealthy man is to the rise of stocks, or the state of the market; if they took as much pleasure in aiding sinners to escape from the wrath to come and arrive at heaven, as many of them do in erecting and embellishing country houses, or making and supporting expensive gardens, or accumulating money in the funds: in a word, if it were their meat and their drink to do the will of their heavenly Father, nothing could be more easy, than to furnish resources without a parallel in the history of the world.

" It may be said that such a state of things as is here supposed, would change the whole face of human society, and alter many of the pursuits of man. True; and it would alter them all for the better. It would take countless millions of mankind from trifling, frivolous, and vicious pursuits, and employ them in a course of well directed, manly, and vigorous industry; and would make all their labor, instead of being wasted, as much of it now is, in vanity and folly, bear upon the present comfort and future hopes of the world. We do not say this rashly; but profess the fullest confidence in being able to prove it, whenever occasion offers, or the time will permit.

" We have made the preceding calculations with reference to Great Britain, because she is so highly favored as to give the principal examples of a widely extended and persevering Christian beneficence. But, considering the public burdens resting upon that nation, it is much easier for the people of the United States to raise any moderate sum for religious charity, say five millions of dollars in a year, than for the people of Great Britain to raise the same sum. In one sense, both are perfectly and equally easy; that is, if all who are able, were inclined to give. In that case, it would be as easy for either nation to raise such a sum, as it is for a healthy man to walk or to breathe. But, in another sense, a respectable sum cannot be raised without considerable sacrifice of time, and labor, and influence, on the part of the more liberal and public-spirited. Take the matter as it would prove in fact, and the people of the United States are more able to take a vigorous part in promoting the moral renovation of the world, than the people of any other country that the sun shines upon. The means of our people being great, and the motives imperative, the path of duty is plain. Oh that the Lord would give a disposition to walk in it."

At Charleston he was industriously employed in arrangements for the departure of a mission family (Mr. and Mrs. Wright of the Choctaw mission) to their field of labor; in writing the Annual Report, and in other official labors. Soon after the article on the Bible Society, also, followed another of kindred spirit, relating to an individual in humble life, whose example of Christian liberality Mr. Evarts had always regarded with lively interest, and now held up before the friends of missions, in the hope that it might do something towards awakening a like spirit in others.*

From Charleston he made a brief visit to Augusta (in company with Mr. and Mrs. Wright, on their way to the scene of their mission) and to Savannah on missionary business; and soon after his return, he took passage for New York. During his absence he had received intelligence of the death of his youngest daughter, a very dear and lovely child; and every feeling of the parent's and husband's heart urged him immediately home. But the interests of the Board required his attention in New York and Philadelphia, and it was not till late in May that he reached Boston.

A few passages from his journal and correspondence will show what most interested him during these first five months of the year:

TO AN AGENT OF THE BOARD.

Boston, February 7, 1825.

"I greatly desire that Christians should feel that the furnishing the money as God has given the ability, is in itself, if there were a willing mind, beyond comparison, the easiest part of the whole business; and yet, in point of fact, it is beyond measure the hardest. Missionaries can be had, men of fine talents and fine prospects, who are willing to go to the heathen and labor like slaves, among the most degraded and ignorant of their species, without intermission or cessation, till death releases them from their toils. Oceans can be traversed, barbarous languages can be conquered and reduced to writing, the Bible can be translated, schools can be taught, whole heathen communities can be enlightened and transformed. At home, persons can be found who will devote their time and powers to superintending missionary concerns, and acting as almoners and agents of the Christian public; though this is by far a more difficult thing to be obtained than to get laborers for distant fields. In one instance only have we been able to persuade an intended assistant missionary to stop and labor at the Missionary Rooms; that was the excellent Mr. Chamberlain, now at the Sandwich Islands; and he consented to the measure only as a temporary thing. Persons can be found who set a noble example of Christian self-denial in order to furnish resources for the support of missions. There are individuals in this city who labor hard in their several employments, or professions with a view to earn money for the service of the Lord; and having earned it, they lay their plans of economy so as to save it; and having both earned and saved it, they give up all thoughts of being rich, to which they are tempted by every thing that surrounds them, and by the whole course of this world; and having thus removed the desire or the intention of being rich, they consecrate to various purposes or religious charity, from three hundred to one thousand dollars each annually. And these are the persons most familiarly acquainted with the manner in which the missionary affairs are conducted. Others, in humble circumstances, but with a zeal not less commendable, give largely of their small earnings. Poor mechanics, engaged constantly in manual labor, give their ten, twenty, and thirty dollars annually."

---

* See account of Mr. Solomon Goodell, late of Jamaica, Vermont, Missionary Herald, August, 1825, (vol. 21, p. 256)—afterwards published separately as a tract.

TO THE CEYLON MISSIONARIES.

Boston, February 7, 1825.

"Various letters from your mission, under dates from March to June last, came to hand on the 24th ult. Previous letters, giving some account, or rather a brief notice, of the revival of religion which God has mercifully vouchsafed to you, were received a month before. We would unite with you in ascribing praise and thanksgiving to the Lord of missions for his great goodness in this signal event; for this earnest of what he is able and willing to do, and of what he may hereafter do, at many stations. Let it teach us and you to pray more fervently and importunately for the continual influences of that blessed Spirit who convinces the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, and on whose benign interposition the hopes of our guilty world are suspended.

"I should think your time might have been well employed in describing various particulars at much greater length: such as the experience of individuals, the reasons you had to judge favorably, the pains taken to guard against deception, and some of the exhortations of your brethren of other denominations, (the English Church and Wesleyan Missionaries.)

"There appeared the more necessity for this, as some of the measures seemed calculated to produce an effect on the animal feelings, especially by way of sympathy. I now refer to your inviting them to rise, to signify their desire to be Christians and to partake of the Lord's Supper, &c.

"All this was doubtless proper; but the reasons for it should, I think, have been stated. Last spring, when I was in the Choctaw nation, there was some religious excitement at Mayhew, which resulted in the hopeful conversion of two Choctaw girls and several hired men. A Methodist preached near the mission house on Sabbath evening, and a large part of the pupils attended. I was present, with Mr. Kingsbury and others. Towards the close of the services the preacher made such representations and proposals, as induced all the pupils present to come forward and kneel down in the middle of the room. Now the children acted from the impulse of the moment, with very little knowledge and very little feeling of any kind. The preacher, according to the practice of the country, might reckon them all as real converts; whereas, in general, they did not furnish a particle of evidence that they had any perception of sin or any desire for salvation. I do not mention this as a case resembling that at Ceylon; but there are many readers of the Herald who have known much of such hasty proceedings as I have described, and who are unacquainted with the character of the Ceylon missionaries. It is important that they and the public generally should have evidence that great care and caution are used.

"I believe, indeed, that the Board will, under the blessing of Providence, increase in resources. But my belief is founded on the general aspect of the times, and on the promises of the Bible which relate to the future enlargement of Zion; but not at all on our own skill or wisdom, or the hold that we have upon the Christian public, or the interest that the public take in missionary concerns, or the reasonableness of the missionary cause, or the ingratitude and folly of deserting it. It is the easiest thing in the world, take men as they are, for the cause of missions to be the general subject of praise and approbation, and yet that the pecuniary support of it should be more and more feeble and irregular continually. It requires no self-denial to praise a good cause, or to peruse a missionary magazine once in a while; but to make large, prompt, and regular offerings of money is quite a different matter.

"In regard to your own support and the support of the cause, I think that you should eminently feel that you are pensioners of the Divine bounty; that you should elevate your eyes and hearts to God; that you should meekly and humbly plead with Him who makes daily provision for the ravens; that you should remember that, while the duty of Christians is plain, and neglect and apathy are inexcusable, there are no human means of compelling a performance of this duty; and that missionaries generally, as the Moravians are apt to do, should use the language of thankfulness for what the good Lord is doing for them and others, rather than the language of complaint, even if brought into great straits, perplexities, and sufferings."

TO T. L. MC'KENNY, ESQ.

Boston, February 14, 1825.

"In regard to the proposed removal of the Indians, I have many fears as to the expected efficacy of the measure, arising principally from the following considerations:

"1. The difficulty of finding land which the Indians will consider of a quality as good as that which they leave.

"2. The difficulty of persuading them that it is for their interest to remove. Without this persuasion, the more intelligent and industrious will remain long behind, and the more ignorant and idle only will go at first.

"3. The difficulty of establishing and maintaining over the emigrants such a government as shall preserve the peace among them, and induce them to provide for their wants by their labor.

"4. The certainty that if they live in a habitable region, they will be surrounded and closely hemmed in by a dense population of whites, and of course exposed to the same evils which beset them now.

"I shall rejoice if these difficulties vanish on experiment, and I honor the benevolent intentions of the President, the Secretary of War, and yourself. May the great Ruler of nations direct to such a course as shall preserve our red brethren from further depression, and greatly elevate them as moral and intelligent beings.

"As to the office of Commissioner, I have not seen any account of the Act before Congress, and know not what would be expected of one who should receive the appointment. It is not probable that my friends here would consent to my accepting any office which would require me to be long absent from home, as I am much occupied with the duties of Corresponding Secretary. I owe it to my own feelings, however, to say that I have often thought, if my domestic circumstances would permit, and I could be released from my duties here, I should delight to be an agent of some kind among the Indians, so that I could labor in the wilderness with a prospect of success for their benefit. Your introduction of this topic emboldens me to suggest that I hope the government will be happy in the selection of Commissioners and agents to carry forward this business. Men are wanted, not only of irreproachable character in every respect, but of enlarged minds, of true benevolence, of public spirit, and of great activity."

This letter deserves particular attention, as evidence of Mr. Evarts's views of the plan for removing the Indians at that early period, and of his readiness to put the best construction on the motives of those who were concerned in devising and promoting it. If the plan must be acted upon, he was ready, by his suggestions and by the aid of missions, to contribute anything in his power to make it safe and salutary.

"April 7. (Charleston.) Spent the evening very pleasantly at Mr. B's. All the gentlemen agreed that the condition of slaves in this country was much improved within twenty years, and that the general state of society was also improved. The Sabbath is better observed, and there is less profaneness.

"14. (On the way to Augusta.) Our road today was over a country almost perfectly level. It may be doubted whether any part of it is higher above tide-water than some part of the suburbs of Charleston; that is, perhaps thirty feet. In one field I saw forty negroes at work, principally females,—a black driver sitting upon the fence with a whip in his hand, watching their work. In another field I counted twenty-four.

"17. In reading the three last chapters of the Revelations, I was forcibly struck with the vivid representation of eternal realities. Oh may I fix my heart on heaven, and be always directing my course thither!

"19. Walterboro'. A murderer was on trial today. I went into the court-house and examined the appearance of the assembly—judge, jury, lawyers, prisoner, and spectators,—a very different assemblage from what will be seen in a New England court-house. The people bore some resemblance to the lower class of laboring people in the farming districts of New England, except that their health did not appear as good. Some of them were most deplorable exhibitions of the deleterious influence of climate. Tents were erected for grog-shops not far from the court-house; and among the crowd there was the noise of violence, with much swearing. Many women accompanied their husbands.

"The fact that a small sandy plain, in the midst of a damp country extending hundreds of miles, should be a preservation against fever, even to northern constitutions, is exceedingly important in regard to the cause of the fever."

TO A MISSIONARY.

Augusta, April 23, 1825.

"Missionaries should endeavor to *make some progress every day* in their great work. They are apt (and we are all apt) to spend the present in *preparation*, thinking that in future much time may be spent in *action*. But if there is a regular progress—

if something is done every day—though the advance may not be perceptible at once, the effect will at last be considerable.

"April 23. I have been much interested in an account of the late Mr. ———, of this place. He was once Mayor of Augusta; and at the time of the death, a member of the U. S. Senate. He had been regardless of divine things through life, till near its close; but when all hope of recovery from a lingering disease was taken away, he applied himself in earnest to the state of his soul. For a long time he was in a state of utter despair on account of the number and magnitude of his sins. At last he died joyfully, expressing the most undoubting assurance of happiness beyond the grave. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the sincerity of such a repentance, the facts in the case are very useful to be known.

"May 3. Savannah. Attended the annual meeting of the Savannah Missionary Society. The Rev. Mr. Howe read the Report, which was animated and good. I made observations, or statements, which occupied about eighteen minutes. The Hon. James M. Wayne delivered a formal written address of thirty minutes. He is at present a Judge of the Supreme Court. He dwelt upon a universal and particular Providence—the baneful effects of idolatry—and laid it down as a principle, that the plan of redemption, as revealed in the Gospel, affords the only adequate remedy for the wants of mankind. The address was calculated to do good; and I was peculiarly pleased to see a layman of his standing come forward in this manner.

"6. Charleston. At evening, received letters containing intelligence of the death of my daughter Sarah. Gladly would I have watched and prayed by her bed-side, if the Lord had permitted. May I be more faithful to my other children; and may this Providence be sanctified to them all, and to the afflicted mother. The Lord is righteous in all his dispensations, and ever to be adored and loved. Oh that he would sanctify me by his truth and receive me to himself."

TO REV. R. ANDERSON.

New York, May 20, 1825.

"I must now ask your attention to a subject of very considerable importance, with a view to your suggesting it to Dr. W., Mr. F., and others. The Tract Society here have appointed a committee to repair to Boston and confer with the American Tract Society on the subject of a union. I hope several of these gentlemen will attend, and that I shall travel in their company. It seems important that matters should be prepared and digested a little; so that, if a union cannot be effected, the business may be so managed as to leave a happy impression on the minds of the committee. I hope a satisfactory union may yet be formed; and I am convinced no person will more rejoice in it a few years hence, than the principal patrons of the American Tract Society. Rather than have a debate, I should think it would be well that a resolution be prepared and offered, referring the whole subject of negotiation to a committee with full powers. On this resolution, the general reasons for a union could be offered, and the general reasons against it also; but the details, respecting which there would be danger of unadvised speeches, might be left to the committee."

To understand this extract, and appreciate it as an illustration of the writer's character and habits, the relation of the two Societies mentioned should be recollected. The American Tract Society, originally the New England Tract Society, had the seat of its operations at Boston, and had for many years been conducted with great judgment and success. Its operations had become so extensive, and it was of so national a character, that the change of name was evidently appropriate, and only taking in form the position that its beneficence and activity had secured to it in fact. It *was* the American Tract Society, before it called itself so. In this state of things the active and devoted friends of the cause in New York extended their plans and prepared to make that city the centre of Tract operations for the Union. It was natural, for many reasons, that the friends of the Boston Society, who had labored in its service and replenished its treasury from the first, and had seen its beneficent influence extending and its results becoming more rich, for a long series of years, till it had, through their faithful services, come to be a national institution; and who had prepared an extensive series of tracts, many of them original, and formed all their plans with a view to independent operations and the supply of the whole country,—it was natural, in these circumstances, that they should be at first somewhat reluctant to take the position of a mere auxiliary to a new society in another city. It seemed to them hardly just to the religious community in the bosom of which the institution had grown up; and fears were expressed that the warm attachment of many would grow cold. Mr. Evarts, it will be seen, gave these considerations their due weight. He respected the motives and feelings of those who entertained them. But it was his habit, in regard to every religious enterprize, to rise above all local and temporary considerations as completely as above those of mere personal bearing. He fixed his eye on the great cause; and with a large and liberal survey of its relations and prospects, endeavored to select that plan which would be best for the world and most for the glory of God. Hence his anxiety in this case that the friends of the cause on both sides should meet and part, not only in peace, but with an increase of mutual good will. His own personal feelings were never suffered to interfere with such a question; and he would have the whole business managed so as not to disturb the personal feelings of any. He knew human frailty, and was always ready to make allowances for it; but for the same reason, he was also ever anxious so to arrange all movements in the Christian world, as to avoid the excitement of unpleasant feeling, and make the friends of truth feel the blessedness of acting together harmoniously. Had this movement resulted otherwise than he wished, he would have been none the less ready to cooperate heartily with both the societies, and to do every thing in his power to secure their highest efficiency. He cherished the spirit of a truly Christian republicanism. He had faith in the presence of the Saviour with his people in their deliberations, and in the strictly Providential overruling of their plans. Hence he was as ready to devote himself to the execution of a plan suggested by another, as if it had been of his own originating. He went where the Divine Providence, by the movement and determination of Christian minds, seemed to lead.

He attended the meeting held to consider this subject, and the result was a union in which all parties have had reason to rejoice. A few months after, in reply to inquiries of the Secretary of the New York Society, he said: "There is no one thing by which your Society could promote the welfare of mankind more effectually than by distributing your publications through many foreign and distant countries, by the aid of missionaries; while, at the same time, no other part of your proceedings would so certainly or so strongly attract the affections of the Christian community. I rejoice, therefore, in reading the inquiries in your letter, and to say in reply, that either now, or at no distant period, you may easily aid every one of our missions." Here we see the origin of the foreign operations of the Tract Society,—which have since swelled to such importance as to demand, in prosecuting them, the expenditure of $30,000 annually.

"24. Reached home. God has seen fit, during my absence, to remove a beloved child. I should have been glad to be present, had he seen fit, at the closing scene. But it has been otherwise ordered, and I have not a word to say. Though I have prayed much and often for my children, jointly and individually, I have to blame myself that I have not done enough for their spiritual interests—have not felt enough for their souls—have not taught them enough their need of a Saviour. Were it in my power, I would most gladly perform offices of kindness for my poor little Sarah. Most gladly would I cherish her, and lead her opening mind to the Saviour of lost men. Little did I think that my opportunities of doing this would so soon be over.

"28. Attended the funeral of a child, and visited the tomb of little Sarah—saw the mouldering corpse—an affecting memorial of our weakness and our exposure to death."

TO THE REV. JONAS KING.

Boston, June 24, 1825.

"I deeply feel for you personally, and for the mission, when I think of the death of our beloved brother Fisk. I had hoped to greet him again in this world, to have the benefit of his advice with reference to the mission in which he labored, and to see him sail again for the Holy Land. I had hoped to enjoy the pleasure of hearing him address assembled multitudes, and of seeing with what ardent affection he would everywhere be received by his Christian brethren. While I was myself in the bosom of the western wilderness, I read the melancholy news. The same afternoon, in various ways, I heard of the death of intimate friends in Boston. It was to me a solemn season, and I pray that the impression of it may not speedily be erased. Few such men as Mr. Fisk are to be found in any country. Oh that it may please the Lord to raise up many such for our churches at home and our missions abroad!

"I think it will be well for you, both in writing and in conversation, and in more public addresses, to have a regard to the notion that is very easily propagated and very apt to prevail, that nothing is accomplished by missionary exertion till converts are made, or at least till the ordinances of religion are firmly established. Men are apt to grow cold in the best of causes, and great and constant exertion is necessary to keep them from fainting.

"You will see by publications transmitted herewith, that God is exceedingly gracious to our country in sending down showers of Divine grace upon the colleges. We have every reason to praise and magnify his name."

The occasion of the following letter was this: Elias Boudinot, a very promising Indian youth of the Cherokee nation, while a member of the Mission School at Cornwall, formed a matrimonial engagement with a young lady of that place, of respectable connexions. This circumstance caused no little excitement in the neighborhood; and some of the friends and patrons of the school were led to adopt measures that gave Mr. E. great pain and anxiety.

TO THE REV. CALVIN CHAPIN, D. D.

Boston, July 5, 1825.

"I am extremely distressed to hear of the violent opposition made at Cornwall to the marriage of Boudinot and Colonel Gould's daughter. If the parties have conducted honorably in this matter, and a firm engagement of marriage has been entered into, I do not see how the contract can be proved to be morally wrong; and if it is not, I do not see how others can be justified in compelling one of the parties to violate it. As to any unpopularity which might attach to the school, through prejudice, ignorance, or misapprehension, I should think it much less to be dreaded, than that the agents or teachers of the school should act upon principles which the Christian world will not justify. Can it be pretended, at this age of the world, that a small variance of complexion is to present an insuperable barrier to matrimonial connexions? or that the different tribes of men are to be kept forever and entirely distinct? That parents have a right to take these things into consideration, and to make them a reason for withholding their consent, I do not deny. But the public have nothing to do with the matter, so long as the public morals are not violated. I do not know of any event which has so threatening an aspect upon the Cherokee mission, nor anything which will be so painful to the missionaries, as that this promising young man should be treated with harshness by his Christian fathers and brethren of the North."

After the annual meeting of the Board in September, Mr. Evarts spent some weeks in attending the meetings of auxiliary societies in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Having been disappointed in regard to assistance, his labors were very arduous. At one time he made public addresses ten days out of eleven successively; which, with his health and habits, was more than he could well endure. The people listened with attention, he says, and the meetings were often interesting; but he was most deeply convinced of the necessity of a great work by means of agencies, before the Christian public could be brought to act as the exigencies of the cause demanded. He felt severely his need of assistance, and regretted that persons on whom he had relied, should seem to feel so little of the weight that pressed heavily on his own heart; yet, after a rather thin meeting, he is glad that they were not present, as they might not have regarded the occasion as worth an effort, and perhaps would have been discouraged, so as to decline such services for the future. And in saying this, he seems to forget his own position, and not to be aware—or rather to regard it as a matter of course and what could not be otherwise,—how he was himself ready to make an effort in the humblest and most limited spheres, and was living such a life of faith in the supreme excellency of the cause itself, as to be far above discouragement from the circumstances of an auxiliary meeting, whatever they might be.

Early in 1826, we find Mr. Evarts again taking passage from Boston for Charleston, on his way to the Indian missions,—not, however, merely for the purpose of such a visit, for his consumptive symptoms had returned, and a visit to the South was deemed necessary.

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

At sea, in the brig Maine, January 23, 1826.

"We have now been upon the great waters nearly four days, and I feel happy in being able to resume my pen, though in a smoky cabin and no superabundance of light. Such has always been my experience in voyaging, however, that the good things which I have received from my heavenly Father, have greatly overbalanced any unpleasant circumstances in which I was placed, and have left me plentiful subjects of gratitude and praise.

"Thursday, January 19th, a little after one, we left Long Wharf and went to sea slowly, with a moderate northerly wind, against the tide. The sun shone clear; the moon rose beautiful; the sea was smooth; and the general aspect of things was as pleasant as can ever be expected upon our northern coast in the winter.

"Sabbath, January 22. Rose for breakfast, having been tossed in my birth forty-eight hours. The morning was fine—the clouds breaking away, and the sun appearing—thus furnishing many topics of reflection suited to the occasion. The whole day and evening were pleasant; all was quiet on board; the sea was very smooth; I was able to walk and sit on deck; and we abounded in comforts.

"Tuesday, January 24. In itself considered, how much more pleasant it is to remain at home, especially at such a home and in such employments as have fallen to my lot, than to be absent on any business or in any pursuit whatever! This reminds me to speak of health; and I would say with gratitude, that I have so little cough as would ordinarily excite no attention. I have not had a moment's uneasiness from this cause since I came on board; except that I have some apprehension as to what may be the effect of a land breeze, or of landing after a short voyage.

"Charleston, Jan. 28. (After mentioning some complaints against the Board and the results of inquiry,) I notice this matter particularly for the sake of making two observations:—1. When we hear any complaining, or grumbling, with respect to the doings of our Board, we are apt to overrate its importance. I believe this has been the case invariably hitherto. 2. We must not, however, conclude that, like the king of England, we can do no wrong. We must not be offended, if people suppose we have actually done wrong. We must take it for granted that some will judge with very scanty means of information; and, although some may hastily blame us, others may blindly applaud our doings. Our only security is in the Divine teaching; and this is not to be expected without asking for it, nor without using other means of obtaining it. We must deliberate well before we act, and look carefully on every side of a subject; and when we have done so, we must proceed boldly, not hesitatingly and tremblingly, in what we conceive to be the right course. When we publish, we must see to it that our reasons are in themselves good, and that we make them intelligible. We must avoid giving lame accounts, which will need subsequent propping and bolstering.

"January 30. The following suggestions I make with reference to the next annual meeting of our Board; and may perhaps make others hereafter. If the union* should be consummated, the Board will probably think it best to elect from twenty to twenty-five members,—say five in New England, and the rest in other parts of the country. It seems to me very important that no election of a member should be made from motives of policy,—that is, to disarm opposition, to flatter, to gain influence with men in political life, &c. &c. (Here follows a list of gentlemen suggested as candidates, with remarks.)

"Attended a meeting of ministers from nine to twelve o'clock. After their regular business was through, I proposed these questions to be answered next week:—Can young colored men be found of suitable character to be taken as beneficiaries, and educated for missionary services in Africa? Will they be found among the free blacks, or the slaves?

---

* Between the Board and the United Foreign Missionary Society.

"February 1. Last night, at one o'clock, we were alarmed by the cry of fire. It proved to be in mills not contiguous to other buildings. The last month has been fruitful in alarms. In twenty different places attempts have been made by incendiaries to burn the city; and fires have actually broken out in eight or ten instances. Large patrols walk the city every night. It is not supposed that these attempts have their origin with the black population, though some blacks may be used as tools. Fires, however, in a city filled with slaves, are very troublesome occurrences. The military invariably make their appearance, with arms—quite as regularly as the fire engines."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

"February 2. The more I am acquainted with our country, the more I am convinced of our ability, as a people, to do great things in works of charity. I suppose there are in the Presbyterian churches and congregations of this city, at least twenty men who are able to do as much as Mr. ———; and perhaps twenty others who are able to do as much as Mr. ———; and twenty others who might do as much as Mr. ———. Many of these are professors of religion, and nearly all are friendly to orthodoxy and missions. Episcopalians have much more wealth than Presbyterians here; and there is considerable property in the hands of Methodists, Baptists, and others. Southern people have always been more ready to give their five and ten dollars than Northern people. Hence I argue that the main thing wanted here is, that the principle of religious charity should be cultivated. How much might be done by this single city? If we had an agent of the right sort in the southern country, he might spend five or ten years advantageously in organizing the inhabitants for this effort and in bringing them to the work. Such an agent as I know Mr. Fisk* to be, might exert an immediate and most salutary influence on the state of religion wherever he labored, while he was leading wealthy individuals to the formation of correct and scriptural habits of charitable exertion."

* Rev. Pliny Fisk, late missionary to Palestine.

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

"February 3. This day I close my forty-fifth, and enter upon my forty-sixth year. I can hardly believe I am so old. Sixteen years ago to-day I arrived at Boston, with the design of becoming editor of the Panoplist, and entering upon that course of labor which I have since pursued. During that period, in which, though it appears short, many interesting events have taken place, I have received many favors at the hand of God. My health, with the exception of greater liability to diseases of the lungs, is as good as it was then, and my ability to labor as great. I have occasion to lament my sinfulness, and my failure in respect to all the relative duties, as well as in the duties which I owe to my Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier. But, unless my heart deceives me, I entered upon editorial labors, and subsequently upon labors more immediately connected with the missionary cause, from a conviction that I could do more for the church of Christ in this manner, than in any other. Though sensible of numberless imperfections, and aware that my attachment to the cause of God has been feeble compared with its paramount claims, and that my efforts have not preserved that character of uniform strenuousness, which the urgency of the case demanded; yet I can deliberately declare that I have never published anything which appeared to me inaccurate, unfair, or calculated to mislead; that I have never used an argument which appeared to me unsound or even doubtful; and that I have never proposed or advocated a measure which did not seem to be consistent with the strictest principles of Christian integrity. While I lament that I have served God with so little faithfulness and zeal, I rejoice that I have had the opportunity of attempting something for the honor of his name; and I pray that, if my life should be spared, I may have grace to discharge my various duties with alacrity; that I may never lie as a dead weight upon the cause; and that I may be succeeded by those who shall bring to the work far greater abilities than I ever possessed, with a more devoted spirit, and a more constant and lively interest in the great things of the gospel. I would penitently and humbly ask the pardon of all my numerous offences, in the name and for the sake of Christ, in whom is all my hope, and to whom I would cheerfully commit all my concerns for time and for eternity."

While in Charleston, Mr. Evarts spent much time in consultations and arrangements in regard to the formation of an auxiliary missionary society. The object was at length accomplished, much to his satisfaction. After the organization of the society, he says: "On the whole, the meeting was an auspicious one, and we have cause for gratitude. We must remember, however, that annual efforts must be made everywhere, but especially at the South. Everybody here is convinced of this. The most promising part of our plan is, that no engagement is made for future years. Mr. B. gives it as the decided result of his observation, that nothing is to be relied on in the interior of the southern country, any more than in the cities, without an annual effort. It is desirable that persons may be found, in as many places as possible, to make such an effort; but if this cannot be done, agents must be employed."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

"February 12. Sabbath evening, I went to a Methodist meeting. The sermon was serious, and might well lead a serious mind to profitable reflections. To a light mind, there were some things which would naturally excite levity. I was altogether surprised and shocked to find that the greater part of the audience evidently came together for purposes of levity, or something worse, if anything can be worse than to go to the house of God for the deliberate purpose of merriment. I should think three fourths of the persons present were young fellows and young girls, gaily dressed, whispering, laughing, and prepared to leave the house with far other emotions than the preaching of the gospel was intended to produce. They seemed perfectly at home, and very well acquainted with each other. I would not have mentioned these facts, were it not that we ought to know, so far as we can easily learn it, the tendency of different kinds of preaching. These people could not have had any respect for the ministrations which they had previously witnessed there. I was scarcely ever more struck with the necessity of a well educated ministry, and of having intellectual power and true dignity of character attached to the sacred office. There are four Methodist churches in this city, and as many ministers, who preach in rotation.

"A great part of the northern young men here are said to be very dissolute. There is no doubt, however, but the state of religion is improving, and open wickedness is not so prevalent as formerly. Sabbath-breaking and profaneness are considered marks of vulgarity, and are not practised by many persons of respectable standing in society. In one respect, (and I am sorry to say it,) there is a falling off. A few years ago there were men who gave larger sums in charity than are now given. These liberal men are dead, and their places are not fully supplied; though the number of individuals who contribute small sums is increased.

"A good use may be made of the following case, though the name must not be mentioned. Mr. ———, of this city, but in his youth from Rhode Island, was accustomed to give very liberally to charitable objects, usually one hundred dollars to each, let the applications be ever so frequent. He was also very kind in lending his credit to young men whom he deemed meritorious, when they were in great need of pecuniary aid. In this way he saved some, perhaps many, from bankruptcy. So liberal was he, that business men said he would give away all his property. About six years ago he died, leaving an estate of $300,000. His age was above eighty. He was esteemed very pious. I saw him when I was first at Charleston, eight years ago,—a truly venerable man. Far from having given away too much, he might evidently have given more without the least injury to his family or any other person.

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

"Augusta, February 16. The road from Charleston to Augusta is a very dreary one, though not materially different from that to Savannah, to Columbia, to Georgetown,—in short, any of the great roads in the low country of Georgia or South Carolina. We arrived at Jacksonboro', thirty miles from the ferry near Charleston, at dark. In that distance, I counted twenty-two houses on the road, or within three fourths of a mile of it, the position of which I marked as we passed them. Four were gentlemen's seats, (winter residences,) and one a tavern. The others were intended only for overseers. Some stood alone; others were surrounded by negro huts. The cleared land did not occupy more than one third of the way. The rest was forest; that is, a growth of pines, sparsely scattered. A large part of what is now forest, was formerly cultivated; some of it twenty years ago, and some of it sixty. I saw ridges, indicating former cultivation, in a part now covered with thick woods; and large pines growing upon a mud bank, formerly the inside of a ditch. The pine grows in this climate with great rapidity. The sea-island cotton grows well upon this road as far as Jacksonboro', and generally twenty or thirty miles from the coast. This is also called black seed and long staple. The other kind of cotton is called indiscriminately by either of the four names, green seed, short staple, upland, and bowed. One of these kinds is gradually changed into the other by carrying the seed for planting from the sea-coast to the back country, and *vice versa*. It is remarkable that a country of the richest agricultural products, in the world, should exhibit to a stranger passing through it, every mark of deep poverty. Slave labor has been known to produce eight hundred dollars a year to each hand employed in cultivating sea-island cotton, and at the present prices has, in some instances, produced nearly that sum. Large plantations, suitable for this crop, would sell for one hundred dollars an acre; and yet, from various facts stated, many slaves, when their price was high, must have paid for themselves and the land on which they worked, in two years, besides their own support in the mean time. In the interior, much land that will produce a tolerable crop of upland cotton, may be purchased at from two to five dollars. Much land in the three southern States, lying on the Atlantic, covered with pine timber, that would be valuable at the North, would not bring anything here, unless attached to tracts of a better quality. One cause of the poverty of appearance is, that the planters do not live on their plantations, except a short time in the winter; whereas formerly they resided there the whole year. Before the revolutionary war, large families of children were brought up on many plantations, where it would now be at the risk of his life for the owner himself, born and educated in this climate, to spend a single night between the first of July and the first of October. Many have lost their lives by staying so late as the middle of June. No satisfactory explanation of the cause of this change has ever been given. It is said that the present unhealthiness of the low country has caused it to be so much deserted, that many splendid and very expensive mansions have fallen into decay and utter ruin. In some places the buildings have entirely disappeared, and the spots where they stood are indicated only by rows of trees that were planted by men of former generations. These facts would seem to support what is said to be Mr. Jefferson's theory, that this low country, at some future period, will be in the possession of the blacks.

"We supped at Jacksonboro', at a tavern kept by a white man, who has a mulatto wife. She keeps a good house for this country—brought much property to her husband—has numerous slaves at her disposal, and they appear neater and better dressed than any other slaves I have yet seen.

"The land through Barnwell district, for fifty miles, is very poor; and yet the district is said to contain many wealthy planters. I have no doubt the county of Worcester, Massachusetts, contains more good houses than the whole cotton growing country of the United States, (not including the cities,) although last year's crop of cotton will probably sell for $24,000,000.

"Before taking leave of Carolina, I would say that there are some things of a discouraging nature, in regard to the character of slavery and the treatment of slaves. It is now more difficult, than it was a few years ago, to instruct the blacks. Many legal impediments are thrown in the way. Sabbath schools for their benefit cannot be maintained. When they attempt separate worship, with teachers of their own color, they are dispersed, sometimes in the most barbarous and cruel manner. The discussions in the northern papers on the subject of slavery, irritate the people of Carolina (South) and Georgia beyond what you would suppose. The paper in the Christian Spectator more than a year ago, excited a great flame here. There is a passage in the paper alluded to, which I was sorry to see at the time. I am persuaded, however, that the southern people must make up their minds to have northern people speak rashly, unadvisedly, and ignorantly on this subject. With all this allowance, much truth will be spoken, and it will gradually produce its effect. Even now I cannot but think that the cause of freedom is advancing on the whole. A considerable number of the planters are becoming conscientious on the subject, and are desirous that some means of gradual relief should be discovered.

"As to a point which I have mentioned once before, the possibility of obtaining young blacks for an education, I was informed by several of the clergy in Charleston, that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number.

"Among the instances of liberality at Charleston is one, I think, which could hardly find a parallel in Boston, and which I would here commemorate, to be used in my projected tract of examples. It is that of ——— ———. He receives a salary of two thousand dollars a year. For some time past he has made it a rule, whenever he receives a quarter's salary, to pay all his debts, and distribute the remainder among different charitable objects. His family is small, and he lives with economy; and thus he has it in his power to give four hundred dollars a year to different objects.

"Of all the places which I have visited, this is more given to idolatry of money, than any other which I can recollect. The causes are very evident. A valuable commodity is brought here in great abundance, sold for cash, and forwarded to sell again. This being the case for a series of years, produces a sharp competition—the result of which is, that a majority of buyers lose by their business. Since I have been here, cotton has fallen from twelve and a half to ten cents, just twenty per cent. When I was here last spring, the price was twenty-eight cents. Yet a great deal of money is passing from hand to hand, and there is much luxury, dissipation, and extravagance. Religion is very low, and the prospects of the church in this State rather gloomy.

"As evening approached, I conversed with a religious man from Hartford, with respect to travelling on the Sabbath. I had felt reluctant to go to-morrow, but the necessity appeared so great,* that we had made our calculations to set out before day-light in the stage. The result of this conversation and my own reflections was, that we should stay till Wednesday, though such a delay appeared a serious misfortune. If I had gone, the fact would have been extensively known here, while the causes and motives could not have been known. I have long thought, and repeatedly said, that if the Sabbath is preserved in this country, it must be owing to the strict example of Christians. I mean every part of this country; New England as well as the south.

---

* The stage-coach went only on Sundays and Wednesdays. Attempts to procure a private conveyance to go on Monday were unsuccessful, while Mr. E.'s engagements and appointments to meet missionaries, rendered any delay exceedingly inconvenient.

"The other day, while coming up from Charleston, I inquired of the stage proprietor why he sent his stage on the Sabbath towards Athens. He said he did it at the particular request of the country merchants, who pleaded that they finished their business at Augusta on Saturday, and wished to get home so that they might attend to their business on Monday. So deliberate and concerted a plan to violate the Sabbath, I had not previously known. By the operation of this plan, here and at Charleston, we are detained just a week; and by the fact that the stage here does not follow the arrival of the stage from Charleston, two days more. I pray that this delay may not materially affect the objects of my visit.

"Paid particular attention to the concert of prayer, which, as you may remember, the missionaries in the Choctaw nation agreed to observe with reference to my intended visit. As you will probably receive this not long after the time when I expect to arrive at Brainerd, I hope you and Mr. Anderson, if you do not observe the same evening, will not forget this subject in your intercessions; and that you will pray for the following things: viz.

"1. That my health may be preserved, so that I may perform the service assigned me, and return to my employments with sufficient strength to pursue them.

"2. That the weather and other external things may be so ordered, that I may not be prevented from doing any thing which is really necessary to be done.

"3. That I may visit the several stations, and deal with the various individuals there employed, in the exercise of a meek, candid, and faithful spirit.

"4. That the missionaries and others may be actuated by the benevolent and self-denying spirit of the Gospel, in all their representations, plans, and discussions.

"5. That those measures may be adopted, which shall most conduce to the permanent prosperity of these missions, the comfort of the missionaries, and the salvation of the heathen.

"6. That the teaching and consolations of the Holy Spirit may be graciously afforded; and that all concerned may feel the indispensable necessity of the divine blessing in order to any success.

"7. That souls may speedily be converted to God; and that all hopeful converts may be preserved from apostasy, and from bringing any reproach upon the cause of truth and of missions."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

"Feb. 23. Was greatly annoyed in the middle of the night, by the swearing and vociferation of a number of young men, who had been drinking. I do not think I have heard so much swearing, indicating habits of the grossest profaneness, at any public house where I have stopped, within the last twenty years.

"The people are all alive here on the subject of the Creek treaty, anxiously looking for intelligence from the seat of government. I am told there is scarcely a native Georgian in the state who will not get into a passion the moment the perfect right of the state to the Creek lands is called in question. We had two fellow passengers yesterday, who avowed their readiness to shoulder their muskets and take possession by force, should it be necessary. I afterwards learned that one of them is a young gentleman of property, who was educated in Yale College, and is a professor of religion—a friend of revivals— . . . . . and in general a friend of strict principles and northern institutions. So much are men influenced by the circumstances in which they are placed. Our driver, however, said he would not bear arms against the Creeks. He had lived among them two years; and he did not believe they had been treated fairly."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

"Sabbath, Feb. 26. This is the third Sabbath which I have spent far from religious ordinances, in this part of Georgia, viz.

May 4, 1818, at a Mr. Hardy's, formerly a sea captain, twelve miles north-west of Athens, where there was no preaching at that time. The second Sabbath was spent at the house of Mr. Montgomery, a religious man, a little off the road, twenty-two miles north-west of Athens, April 28, 1822; and now, after an interval of four years more, I am upon the same ground again. I cannot have the means of judging extensively; but I should think there had been very little alteration in the moral and religious state of the country within the last eight years. How many of these years of darkness and moral death are to revolve, is known only to the Lord of all, in whose hands are the issues of life. It is as true of these people as of downright heathens, that they must be helped from abroad, or they will never come to the knowledge of the truth.

"Several travellers stopped, and several visitors arrived and went, in the course of the day; but we had a room to ourselves, where we attended morning and evening prayers. At the latter, I invited the family of the landlord to be present. All came, except himself; that is, his wife, two visitors, and five or six children, who gave very good attention. I read the sixteenth chapter of Luke, made some observations, and offered a prayer; then read the latter part of the 25th of Matthew, made some observations, and Mr. Manwaring offered a prayer. We distributed several tracts. The family appeared to have very few books. I saw no Bible, and intended to inquire whether they had any; but the proper time escaped me.

"Monday, Feb. 27. The facts with which I became acquainted here, agreed perfectly with what I had previously learned, in convincing me that this part of Georgia is one of the healthiest regions in the United States. The influenza has prevailed here lately, and several persons have died of it. But fevers are scarcely known here, and I could not find that any dangerous epidemic prevails. As our landlord could not tell of a single disease of which people died, I asked if there are any very old people. He answered that the country had not been settled long enough to contain old people, as the first inhabitants entered the country when they were young. He thought about as many men died of being *killed*, as in any other way; there being a man in jail for murder in each of five contiguous counties. The number of inhabitants is small."

The last date is near the borders of what was then the Indian country, in which Mr. Evarts spent the next two months at hard work, having inspected, during that time, eighteen mission stations. He writes from Candy's Creek, March 10—"I am now on my way to the Baptist mission in the Valley Towns, and expect to return by this place to Brainerd, Willstown, and thence to Creek Path, Huntsville, and Mayhew, where I shall endeavor to be on the first of April. It will be hard work, however, as I must ride every day but the Sabbath, and do a great deal of business of which I cannot get time at present to make any record." Again, dating "on the Natchez Trace, ten miles N. E. of Ai-ik-hun-nuh, May 1:"

"During the last two weeks and a half, I have visited the school at Mr. Juzon's, Emmaus, Goshen, Hachah, (Mr. Gleason's place,) Bethel, and Ai-ik-hun-nuh; also the place of Mr. Williams's residence;—have travelled three hundred and forty miles in the wilderness, in company with Messrs. Kingsbury, Byington, and Worcester;—have slept three times in the woods and twice under sheds near Indian houses; lost our horses once, when thirty miles from any station;—been detained for hours by hazardous and difficult creeks in the midst of swamps, where we were compelled to make our unwilling horses swim, and to carry our own saddles and baggage across on slippery logs;—several times under peals of heavy thunder and threatening rain, and when the heavens wore the most terrific aspect; twice missed our way and were put to serious inconvenience;—and in these various ways have been so much hindered, that the two days assigned for our journey from Ai-ik-hun-nuh to Elliot were consumed, and I did not feel warranted to give up the endeavor to be in Philadelphia before the General Assembly rises. I am now on my way with Mr. Kingsbury to Monroe, where I hope to get a guide and proceed to the Chickasaw Bluffs, (or Memphis,) in the S. W. corner of Tennessee, where I shall aim to get on board a steamboat for Louisville, Cincinnati, or Pittsburgh. Whether I shall get to Philadelphia in season, depends upon many Providential dispensations, which we call contingencies, because we can neither foresee nor control them. I have written to Mr. Smith and Mr. Howes at Eliot, expressing my regret that I could not visit them. This station needs visiting, perhaps, less than any other; as the affairs are managed with great judgment and economy by Mr. Smith.

"Though our late jaunt has been fatiguing to us all, and in various respects has not been a party of pleasure, yet we have been kindly protected;—have experienced many interpositions of Providence: have enjoyed constant health, had good appetites and enough to eat, slept soundly, and proceeded on our way cheerfully. I have not mentioned these things to make much of them—least of all that they should be published,—but that you might have a bird's eye view of our travels.

"We have seen some of the natives far removed from the whites, in the original darkness of their condition, and the sight has made an impression upon our minds which nothing else could have made.

"Two things are very evident from my journey: one, that it is for the interest of our missions that all persons employed in them as missionaries and school masters should learn the language of the people where they labor, as fast as possible without neglecting pressing duties: the other, that well conducted schools will be greatly instrumental, sooner or later, in introducing the Gospel.

"It is now time for me to take to my lodgings on the floor, expecting to set out on my journey at break of day."

TO H. HILL, ESQ.

Mississippi River, May 10, 1826.

"It may be of use to myself, if I should live, and to others who may hereafter travel the same route, to keep a full journal of what strikes the eye, or the mind, while upon this great highway of the Western States, and of Central North America; a highway which will be more travelled a hundred years hence, than any other thoroughfare in the world.

"Monday, May 8, 1826. Arrived at Memphis, (fourth and lowest Chickasaw Bluff,) at a quarter past nine in the morning. This place is seven miles north of the line which separates Tennessee from Mississippi. It is not yet so rich or so populous as the ancient capital of Egypt. There are four or five stores, and perhaps ten log houses, with two or three poor framed houses. A large framed house is to be erected here this season for a tavern. The land of the back country is rich, but very sparsely settled, and the people are poor.

"The victory which steam has achieved over the strong current, the floods, the drift wood, and other numerous obstacles of the Mississippi, is one of the most remarkable things in the history of human improvement. I have never been so much affected with the power of mind over matter, as in witnessing what takes place upon this river. Soon after our arrival to-day, the Paragon from Louisville passed down the river, deeply laden. Her progress, at the rate of fourteen miles an hour, may fitly be compared to the march of a giant. The commotion which such a boat makes in the water, extends from the middle of the river in regular waves, which dash with considerable force and noise against each shore, agitating the flat-bottomed boats and every thing else that floats upon the surface.

"The famous Miss Wright,* the tourist, philanthropist, and emancipator, is here, and desires to take a passage up the river; but it is doubtful whether she would embark in the night. I had not before learned that she has actually entered upon the plan of liberating slaves by means of their own labor; and that she has commenced an establishment, in pursuance of her plan, not many miles from this place. My informant says that she has purchased twenty or thirty slaves, who are to be made free when they shall have reimbursed the purchase money by the avails of their own labor; that she has set them at work, and is sanguine as to the result; but that she wants more funds than her own resources can supply. It is a part of her design, that the slaves shall be prepared for liberty, while they are earning money to pay for it.

"As for myself, I have no faith in Miss Wright's capacity to form a feasible plan, or her ability to execute one that should be formed by others. In what kind of labor she employs her slaves,

---

* Frances Wright, of English birth and education, of atheistical and libertine principles, and afterwards married to a Frenchman named Darusmont.

I forgot to inquire; but I suspect that the funds which she invests in this manner will be very insecure.

"In regard to Memphis and the neighborhood, I could not learn that there is any moral culture of the inhabitants. A Methodist preacher has sometimes conducted public worship; but the people were not desirous of hearing him, as he is intemperate. There is not a school, as one of the inhabitants told me, in all that part of Tennessee which lies west of the Tennessee river; a large tract, over the whole of which the inhabitants are thinly scattered.*

"The number of Passengers in the President was not great; perhaps a dozen in the cabin and one hundred on deck. Her size, tonnage, and accommodations are not large. She is worked on the high pressure principle. Our treatment on board was very civil; except that one of the passengers was exceedingly profane. His language was very offensive. He is an inhabitant of Louisiana. Learning that I was connected with missions, he introduced the subject of religion by saying that he had twice been near death by fevers, and that he could never make himself believe that he had committed sin enough to cause God to send him to hell. I intimated that he might be mistaken, to which he assented; but added that he could not think he was. He added that he was no Painite, though he had been for two years of his life; that he saw the ill effects of Paine's system upon the state of society; that he read his Bible, when at home, every day.

"We travelled eighty or ninety miles, by the course of the river, in the President. Our progress, when in motion, was six miles an hour, against the current, which in the middle of the river, is remarkably uniform, and in the present high waters, is thought to be five miles an hour. Much is gained by the boats, however, in running close by the banks, in eddies, and the most favorable parts of the stream; while, in descending, they keep the *thread* of the current, as it is termed.

---

* While this is going to the press, the following notice of Memphis falls under the editor's eye, which it may be worth the while to copy, as one among the thousand illustrations that might be collected, of the rapid progress of our country in moral and religious cultivation, as well as in population and in wealth:

"In 1831, Memphis contained about three hundred inhabitants. At that time there was no organized church in the place, except the Presbyterian, which contained eight or ten members. There are now nearly two hundred and fifty members in that church. This church raised last year for different benevolent purposes at least three thousand dollars. The Sabbath School enrolls upwards of two hundred pupils. The school contributes money to educate two children in China. The city now contains a population of between five and six thousand souls, between thirty and forty lawyers, more than forty physicians, three female schools, four male schools, seven ministers, five houses of worship, and three others under contract. The Presbyterian Sewing Society supports one Colporteur."

"The Caledonia is a superb boat, the largest on the river, and was an object of great admiration, when I was at New Orleans in June 1824. She has now three hundred deck passengers, and perhaps forty in the cabin, which is the most spacious apartment of the kind that I remember to have seen. To come from the midst of the forest, from sleeping in the woods, and from poor log houses, where a candle could scarcely be obtained, to a splendid room, surrounded by mirrors and hangings of scarlet and blue, filled with rich furniture, and illuminated with a profusion of spermaceti candles, afforded one of the most striking contrasts, as to externals, that I had witnessed.

"Thursday, May 11. At sunrise entered the mouth of the Ohio. The scenery was beautiful. Each river opened before us in a most inviting manner. Both appeared of equal size; that is, of about the common width of the Mississippi from this place to New Orleans. There is a beautiful farm on the Missouri side, opposite the mouth of the Ohio; and another is commenced near the point of Illinois. Some predict that this point will hereafter be the site of a great city; and I see nothing improbable in the supposition. In the highest floods it will probably be overflown one or two feet; but building lots may easily be elevated above this danger. The appearance of the soil in the three states here in view is in the highest degree rich, and of inexhaustible fertility. The distance of this place from Memphis, by the course of the river is, according to the Western Pilot, 205 miles. I think it must be more, as it is at least 150 miles in a straight line, that is, just two degrees of latitude veering considerably towards the east.

"The appearance of the Mississippi and its banks is very interesting on several accounts; but after a while becomes tiresome from its sameness. The vegetation of its banks is of a beautiful green; and the curves and points of the shores and islands are very graceful. Vast quantities of drift wood are found on the surface when the water is high; and it is very often necessary to stop the engine, in order to avoid breaking the wheels. There is one striking proof of the strength of the current, which I cannot help remarking. In cases where a bank has been formed from the bottom of the river to its surface, near one side, leaving a passage for water enough to make a small river, there is not only a violent current in this passage, but the parts thus separated from the mass of waters are sometimes two feet lower than the rest of the river, and the water runs over the intervening bank, in the midst of the flood-wood, as over a dam which should raise a stream two feet. The shores of the river are generally from six inches to one or two feet under water at present. The trees are almost exclusively willows and cotton-wood. The latter is a species of poplar, the leaf and upper branches of which greatly resemble the common poplar of New England. The bark of the lower part resembles occasionally that of the black ash, or the elm. The peculiarity of the cotton-wood seems to be, that it grows well in standing water. It is good for nothing, except for fuel when split and thoroughly dried. On this the steamboats will be obliged ultimately to rely, as the ash is nearly exhausted in many places. In some reaches of considerable length beside those which are called Bluffs, the banks are one, two, three, and even six feet above the present level of waters. The difference between high and low water mark is twelve feet at New Orleans; twenty-five feet at Natchez; thirty feet at Memphis; more than that above.

"My mind has been this day directed to the meeting of the Bible Society, and of the other religious charities, which hold their anniversaries this week. May the Great Head of the church direct in all their deliberations, and may his holy name be glorified.

"In 1810 or 1811, Mr. Fulton was in Washington, attending to an application for the first steamboat on the Ohio. He then gave it as his opinion, that, in twenty years, there would be fifty boats propelled by steam on the western waters. This was deemed so extravagant as to be excused only by the pardonable frailty of an inventor. But now, in fifteen or sixteen years, 170 boats, or more, have been built on these waters, and considerably more than one hundred are now plying. The first was put in motion here in 1814; there were but eight in 1818; twelve were built last year in Cincinnati, at an average expense of $20,000 each. Twenty-four others were built between New Albany and Pittsburgh the same year.

"Saturday, May 13, 1826. The shores of the Ohio are beautiful, affording a considerable variety of scenery. I have as yet seen but one steeple, and that a small one; but I cannot help anticipating the time, when the eye shall be delighted with churches, every few miles, and when the whole river shall be lined with cities and villages, indicating a happy and populous community.

"Two days ago I conversed with Judge ——, respecting Miss Wright's plan for emancipating the blacks. He expressed himself very strongly to this effect, that the northern people had no business to say any thing about slavery,—it was a thing with which they had no concern; they should leave it to those among whom it exists. To-day I proposed to him, as he had often reflected on the subject, to say what should be done to meliorate the condition of the blacks. 'In the first place,' said he, 'send out of the country to Africa, or Hayti, all the free negroes.' To this I assented, and added, but what shall be done for the slaves? 'Let the same process be continued, which is now commenced, and in which the condition of the slaves is greatly improved within my memory. Instances of cruelty are very rare; and in many cases, strong attachments are formed between slaves and the family of their masters. Let the minds of masters be cultivated, and there is no calculating what the result will be.'

"Arrived at Louisville at nine. Ascertained that all the steamboats now here, four in number, will set out for some place up the river to-morrow morning. This activity of public conveyances on the Sabbath I find to be a very great evil. I am very desirous of arriving in Philadelphia as soon as possible. All the boats set out hence on the Sabbath, leaving none for Monday. If we do not go to-morrow, we must wait for some boat to come down and return; as none of the boats at Shippingport could ascend at this stage of the waters. Besides, two of the boats to set out to-morrow are bound to Pittsburgh, and will be more likely to ascend than others, should the river be low. Yet, pressing as these circumstances were, I did not think we should be justified in setting out on the Sabbath. If the same boat in which we came, had continued to ascend, the case would have been different; but here a new voyage commences; we are in a large town, where the preaching of the gospel can be attended; our example would be known, and the reasons for it would not be known. I have been exhorting others not to travel on the Sabbath; and what would they think and say, if I were *unnecessarily* to travel in the company of some of them, and leave others attending public worship? The business that I profess to have at heart is the Lord's business; and he can promote it in Philadelphia without my presence as well as with it. If by staying here over the Sabbath, I should be hindered in my journey till after the General Assembly rises, as I think not improbable, it still would not prove that I ought to have proceeded.

"At the close of service, Dr. Blackburn gave notice that he should be absent on the forenoon of the next Sabbath; and said he felt bound to assign the reason. He was to attend at the house of a planter, who had a considerable number of servants who were young, and whom he was about dedicating to God in baptism, as their guardian and the person bound to see to their education. The Dr. added, that heads of families were bound to dedicate not only their children, but their servants, *bought with their money, or born in their house,* to God in baptism, and to see to their Christian education.

"15. Dr. Blackburn assured me that the condition of the slaves was improving, and the way preparing in that state for general emancipation.

"About noon we took passage in the Velocipede for Wheeling or Pittsburgh. This boat was to have-sailed yesterday morning; but one of the engineers was drowned on Saturday night, and she was thus delayed. The banks of this river are here very beautiful, and will be delightful indeed, when the country shall have become old and highly cultivated."

At Philadelphia, the important business that had made him so anxious to meet the General Assembly, was satisfactorily arranged. "The question of consenting to a union between the two Missionary Societies," he writes, "was a good deal debated. The proposal was warmly opposed; but, on the final question, the measure was carried by a great majority, probably not more than one out of ten having voted in the opposition. The principal ground of opposition was, the apprehension that the missionaries appointed at some future time might be unsound in the faith, as they would not be under the control of any church, and would not have given their assent to any confession of their common faith. There will be opposition in the Dutch church, and principally on the same ground." The meeting of the Dutch Synod, however, he did not wait to attend, but hastened to Boston, where the summer was spent in the quiet of home, and in the favorite employments of Christian beneficence, to which his office and position called him. His correspondence at this time touches upon a variety of important subjects:

TO REV. C. KINGSBURY.

Boston, June 12, 1826.

"All the brethren and sisters will do well, I think, to read the New Testament, making personal application to themselves, *as connected with a mission*, of all the passages which relate to Christian intercourse, Christian sympathy, and the bad effects of evil surmisings, &c.

"Why should you not all be encouraged by what God is doing at the Sandwich Islands? The Choctaws are equally within the reach of his grace. I have reason to believe, that every individual connected with the Choctaw mission as a laborer, would rejoice in such a state of things as Mr. Richards describes at Lahaina. It would amply repay the labors of a whole life, if a missionary could see inquiring natives anxiously desirous of salvation, and flying from the wrath to come. Why should not missionaries in every land look forward to such a state of things with holy confidence in God? Why should they not labor diligently and strenuously and cheerfully in this expectation? Oh that the Lord would impart to them, and their advisers and directors—

> 'The high endeavor and the glad success,
> The strength to suffer, and the will to serve.'"

TO THE REV. DANIEL S. BUTRICK.

Boston, June 20, 1826.

"I reached home on the 9th instant, having experienced much of the Divine favor on my way. There are many things to encourage us in our missionary work, as well as many to humble us. The union of the Board with the United Foreign Missionary Society has been consented to by both the ecclesiastical judicatories to which it was referred. But we shall greatly need judicious and faithful agents, and great labor will be required, before the friends of missions throughout the country can be organized so as to afford those resources which the missionary cause demands.

"Your terms with Mr. ——— are very reasonable, and the expense trifling. I would advise you to adhere exactly to these terms, and not contribute any other than the stipulated articles. My principal reason is, that all uncivilized people need to be taught by example the benefit of an exact execution of contracts; and it is quite injurious to them to give a great deal more than you promise to do. It tends to make them dissatisfied, even when they are generously dealt with, and leads them to think that all are indebted to them, while they are indebted to nobody.

"I strongly desire that abundant pains should be taken with Mr. ———, Mr. ———, and others, (Cherokee converts,) to preserve them from falling, to recover any of them from their wanderings, to instruct them in the duties of piety, justice, kindness, industry, &c. No Christian virtue can grow without cultivation. Regenerate men cannot make advances in piety, unless they are taught by human instrumentality;—at least, the cases are very rare, in which the human character is much improved without those means which God requires us to use. Be diligent, therefore, in teaching these men from house to house. You can accomplish much by simply telling them what good men do in Christian lands, leaving the application to be made by themselves.

"You do not mention the state of I.'s health. I feel a great interest in that youth. From what I learn, he is affected with an incurable malady. Do request him, from me, to consider whether his peace is made with God, and exhort him to believe and be saved. If you have D. with you, try to gain him also to be on the Lord's side, and to advance towards happiness and heaven.

"Remember me kindly to the brethren whose names have been mentioned in this letter. May grace, mercy, and peace, abound with them all."

TO JOHN NITCHIE, ESQ.

Boston, June 24, 1826.

"I sincerely thank you for the very interesting account which you have given of the discussions in the Dutch Synod on the subject of the *Union.* I hope I am in some measure thankful to God for the happy issue of these discussions; for happy I must call the issue, notwithstanding there was so much hesitation in coming to it. I have no doubt but the debates, both in the General Assembly and in your Synod, will be productive of much good. The attention of many will have been thus drawn to the subject; the friends of foreign missions and of the union will be roused to greater activity, than if no opposition had been made; some of the opposers themselves will be convinced, and will become hearty in the cause; and when the matter comes fairly before the people, as I hope it will come before them in our labors to produce a thorough organization, I have not the least doubt but a great majority of the piety, good sense, humanity and benevolence of the Dutch church will ultimately be enlisted in behalf of the heathen.

"After I saw you the other day, I conversed with several gentlemen on the best time and manner of making a general effort in the city of New York. All agreed in the opinion that the first effort made in the city, after the union shall have been consummated, ought to be a *general effort,* a *great effort,* and made with all the advantages of which we can avail ourselves."

TO MESSRS. BIRD AND GOODELL—MISSIONARIES, BEYROOT.

Boston, June 29, 1826.

"When I was at Mayhew, on the 10th of April, I first learned the melancholy fact that Mr. Fisk had been called away from his field of labor—melancholy when regarded in its bearing on the people of Western Asia, and upon the present interests of our Board; but *joyful* when considered as the kind and gracious summons of his Divine Master to a state of freedom from sin and everlasting rewards. There is no need that I should write about our dearly beloved friend, who has thus unexpectedly been removed from us. I have esteemed him one of the ablest and most judicious missionaries whom the Christian world has recently employed to promote the interests of Zion. I am so much accustomed, however, to experience losses and disappointment in the missionary work, and to look upon heaven as a release from the contamination of sin, and I have so strong a conviction that whatever our heavenly Father does is right, that I cannot feel like mourning much, when our most beloved friends, who have given good evidence of faith in Christ, are removed from us. Still it is a solemn truth, that the removal of burning and shining lights very often is followed by the encroachments of the empire of darkness over regions upon which light had begun to shine. When spiritual guides are taken away, it is often in anger, and the poor perishing people are left to grope in error and sin. We ought to pray earnestly, therefore, that the lives of faithful missionaries and ministers may be spared, and that their number may be increased a hundred fold. How will the world otherwise become enlightened, reclaimed, converted, sanctified and saved?"

TO REV. WILLIAM POTTER, CHEROKEES.

Boston, July 3, 1826.

"I have the happiness to say that, by the favor of Providence, I reached home on the 9th ult., not having experienced a moment's sickness since I was confined in your chamber.

"I feel great interest in the success of your station, especially in its spiritual success. While God is pouring out his Spirit upon so many parts of our land, upon our colleges and schools, upon our young people, upon infidels and profligates, is it too much to hope that he may shed down the same glorious and divine influence upon the Cherokees at all the stations? Pray earnestly for this; and to your prayers, join constant and faithful labor; and may the Lord grant you his blessing."

TO MR. MOSES JEWELL, EMMAUS, CHOCTAWS.

Boston, July 17th, 1826.

"The notice which you take of my late visit, and the effect which you ascribe to it, have a sensible influence in reviving the impressions made upon my mind while passing through the Choctaw nation. I have always had a great desire to form a personal acquaintance with all our missionaries, and have regretted that in any one instance, as in the case of Mr. Howes, I have been disappointed. It is not in human nature to feel so much for those whom we never saw, as we should feel, if, beside all our other means of knowing their characters, we had conferred with them face to face, on the most interesting subjects, and had witnessed their manner of speaking and conceiving of things. Since I left Emmaus, my mind has often reverted to your place, and I have frequently wished our various interviews, particularly our last ride, could have been prolonged.

"Our Committee are so fully convinced of the importance of such an acquaintance as you mention, that we now send for the candidates for missionary employment, that they spend some time in Boston for that special purpose. There is a young man at the Rooms now, who may probably become a school-master in the Choctaw nation, and I expect others for other missions in a few weeks.*

"Beyond a doubt, the best help you can have is that of good missionaries, persons willing to spend and be spent for the sake of Christ and the heathen; persons who love work, and who always expect and wish to do as much as their strength will admit, and who patiently leave the result to Providence. It is not a vain thing to hope that such persons may be employed, for we have examples of the most gratifying nature in our various missions. It must be admitted, however, that sometimes persons who are not habitually industrious, mistake their calling, and find their way into the missionary field. Such things must be expected in the imperfections of human affairs. But even this class should not be regarded as useless and hopeless. By mild expostulations, by kind treatment, by showing them the nature of their obligations and the necessity of vigorous exertions, and especially by setting them a good example, they may be greatly improved in their characters.

---

* This practice has since been adopted formally by the Committee, as a rule in regard to all candidates.

"Your application for assistants will be laid before the Committee, and we shall do what we can for the benefit of your station. We must depend for assistants on those whom the Lord sends, after we have used the proper means of inquiry. In order to lessen the burden of your cares, I would suggest the following hints:

"1. Lay out no new business, unless the state of the mission imperiously demand it.

"2. In transacting old business, or following up an old plan, act as steadily as possible, so that some advances may be made every day.

"3. When disappointments occur, receive them mildly and patiently, and limit the evil of them as much as possible.

"I am sorry you did not mention the state of the school, as I am very desirous to know how education advances at all the stations. Please request Mr. Gage to write concerning the conduct of the boys, out of school as well as in, and to make any suggestions which he thinks will be useful to the Committee.

TO A GENTLEMAN AT WASHINGTON, WHO HAD SUGGESTED SOME MODIFICATIONS OF THE PLAN ADOPTED IN REGARD TO MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS.

Boston, July 28, 1826.

"Though occupied with pressing business, I have read your letter, and conversed respecting the subject with the Rev. Mr. Vaill, a missionary who has resided nearly six years in the Indian country, and is well acquainted with the character of at least one tribe, the Osages. He has also seen much of the Cherokees. I have myself made four visits to missions among the Indians, and within the last six months, have personally inspected eighteen missionary stations.

"Though I feel a sincere respect for any exhibition of benevolence in behalf of our Indians, I must frankly state that I think your plan, so far as its peculiarities are concerned, is erroneous, and will not be successful.

"The project of intermixing white settlers with Indians, is one to which, of all others, they have the most unconquerable objections. I mean to except mission families and such mechanics as the Indians themselves send for. There are weighty reasons why the persons who are to aid in civilizing the Indians should be few, and of the most select character. I have not time to state them. You will find the subject treated with great wisdom and perspicuity in Dr. Dwight's Travels, vol. 3. Modern discoveries have added nothing to the principles there laid down. In a word, such tribes as the Cherokees and Choctaws, who have entered upon a system of proceedings with reference to this matter, would not permit the government to portion out their lands to settlers. The more wandering tribes will never settle side by side with the whites. And, in either case, if the plan were adopted, the Indians would sink, and gradually disappear, from the single consideration of the inferiority which they would daily feel, and under the withering influence of which they would become extinct, as many tribes have become extinct before them.

"As to teaching the English language, agriculture, the mechanic arts, &c., it is exactly what our Board and other societies have been doing for the last ten years, and the reasons for which you will find in our Annual Reports much at large. The advantage of communicating the English language has always been a favorite and familiar topic with us; yet experience has proved to our full conviction, that it is a more difficult thing to teach English, even to the children, than we had at first supposed; and that it is wise for some of the persons at every missionary establishment, to learn the language spoken by the Indians at that place. This is useful on every account; but especially as the medium of communicating divine truth to the minds of the adult population.

"I am constrained to differ from you as to the duty of preaching the Gospel to the natives as soon as possible. There is abundant, proof from the days of Eliot to the present year, that the word of God, brought home to the mind of an Indian, is capable of producing an entire moral change; and this change operates with more power in promoting civilization, than all other causes whatever. I have known many families perfectly civilized in this manner. I have never known one person civilized by mere persuasion, or by convincing him that he would be more comfortable, or more happy, than in his native state, though many are ready enough to admit the conclusion.

Schools, farms, and shops are good auxiliaries; and without them a good state of society cannot exist, nor can the institutions of religion be permanently enjoyed. But all these things will not civilize a single tribe, if made to occupy the principal place. At least, such are the results of our reasoning and experience.

" While I say this, I wish to be understood as entirely approving the use made by government of the ten thousand dollars fund. Let that be applied, as it has been, for the support of schools, &c. But let it be observed that these schools could not be supported as they have been, unless missionary societies had expended a much larger sum."

TO AN AGENT OF THE BOARD.

Boston, August 13, 1826.

" Mr. Anderson has, at my request, written some brief directions. I will only add that I think you will do well to keep the following points in mind:

" 1st. That an ardent love to the cause of Christ is the best prompter to exertion.

" 2d. That caution and enterprise must be united, to make a successful agent.

" 3d. That it should be deeply impressed upon the minds of agents, how much depends on getting a *few* persons, of each sex, in every town, heartily engaged in the cause of missions, and determined to carry the plan of the Board into execution. All cannot be expected to feel an equal interest in these great concerns, nor have all an equal talent to excite interest in others. While you should endeavor to awaken the whole community, you will be aware that peculiar pains should be taken in private, to confirm, and establish, and encourage those who are to take a lead in the places where they live.

" 4th. Take care to guard against delays and procrastination in these movements. People are all inclined to say (or nearly all) that the present is an unfavorable time. No doubt the calls are pressing every where, and pecuniary embarrassments are extensively felt; but the wants of the world are imperious, and will never be less so without human exertion.

"5th. You will explain to the different societies, in what manner they can make remittances, and how they are to apply for the Missionary Herald.

"6th. If you hear objections to the missionaries, or their manner of conducting missions, or to the measures of the Board, you will cultivate a mild and candid spirit—will say that it is not safe to take up an opinion against these operations on slight grounds, and that it is easy to be mistaken in such matters, unless all the facts and circumstances are known.

"7th. Let the tendency of all you do or say be, to raise a high standard of Christian duty in respect to benevolent exertions and the sacrifice of property.

"8th. Endeavor to make your hearers feel a responsibility for keeping up the old missions and for sending forth new ones. Show the unreasonableness of shifting the responsibility upon others. The interests of Christ's kingdom are equally the interests of all his disciples, and not the interests of a few only. With these hasty directions, which, however, are prompted by considerable experience, I am, &c."

TO A FRIEND IN VIRGINIA—A NATIVE OF THAT STATE.

Boston, August 8, 1826.

"*What is to be done with the blacks of this country?* There are several preliminary questions. The first is, *Are we bound to the profoundest silence on the whole subject of slavery, in all its relations, and with respect to all its consequences?*

"I should like to see you take up the negative of this question, and pursue it till there should be no room to doubt on the subject. Is it possible that we should have two million souls among us, in a peculiar condition, and that we should be debarred the use of pen and ink, of speech and thought concerning them? Especially, when these two million will increase to six million, at a very low estimate, in the short space of fifty years, if nothing is done to remove them? Besides, if it were our *duty* to be silent, who shall compel the "wilderness of free minds," spread over this vast continent, to remain unmoved? And if the subject *must* be thought of and talked about; and if men will be so obstinate as to write even; and if it is little short of treason for a northern man to take any interest in the matter;—why should not southern men take hold of it with zeal, and resolution, and a steady hand? Why should they not discuss this mighty argument in a manner which becomes it—avowing principles—showing their principles to be defensible on the grounds of reason, justice, Scripture, our political professions, kindness, humanity, benevolence—laying down plain and palpable rules for the relation of master and slave—coming forward with their projects for the future—telling the world how far slavery is to be a matter of necessity, and how far it is to be fostered as a desirable thing—a lovely evil:—Finally, they should be brought to feel and to avow that they must make up their minds to think and act, or others will think and act for them. I do not mean in an unconstitutional way, but in *some* way, which shall have a real and permanent effect.

"I am not for violent measures. There is not one northern man in a hundred for violent measures. Probably I should be considered rather as an apologist for slavery; because I believe it would be right, and pleasing to God, that this relation should gradually cease, considering the *present necessity*, rather than that a sudden and universal emancipation should take place, even with the cheerful consent of every slave-holder. It would be right, however, that every slave-holder should feel willing to let his slaves go free as fast as their best interests could be provided for, and should lend his counsels, his influence, and his prayers, that such a provision may be speedily made."

TO KAAHUMANU, A CHIEF WOMAN AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Boston, August 21, 1826

"Much love to you, my friend. I have heard many things of you in past years. Your kind acts to the missionaries were not forgotten by them. They wrote of them to us in their letters.

But the greatest and best thing which we have heard of you is, that you love the word of Jehovah, and trust in Jesus Christ for salvation. To hear of this, gave us all great joy, and to see it all written in your letter to me, made me feel very happy. I give thanks to God, our Heavenly Father, for what he has done for you and the people of your Islands.

And now let me exhort you to lead a holy life—a life of prayer, and to labor for the good of the young King and his sister, that they may become the children of God, and may be preserved from the evils which are about in the world. Our blessed Saviour has said, "How hardly shall they that have riches, enter the kingdom of God!" And it is so with rulers and great men. They are full of cares. They have many things to do. They are often surrounded with evil men, who tempt them to act wickedly. But praised be the name of the Lord, he has mercy upon some great men, and rich men, and kings, as well as upon the poor, and those in a low condition.

"And we rejoice greatly that you, and Karaimoku, and other chiefs, are, as we hope, brought into the fold of Christ. Oh may you be preserved there, and delivered from every enemy of your peace, and be prepared for heavenly rest! We pray for you often, and we ask you to pray for us, that we may all meet before our Father's throne.

"We wish all the men and women and all the children of your Islands, to learn the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom. I send my kind salutations to Opiia, to Boki, to Kaikioeva, and the other chiefs. Let Boki always remember the good advice given him by the King of England.

"May the kind and merciful Saviour preserve you from sin and receive you to himself, and to him be the glory forever, amen. Your friend in the Gospel."

TO KARAIMOKU, A CHIEF MAN AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Boston, August 21, 1826.

"Much love to you, Karaimoku. Your letter to me came to my hands safely. I thank you for it. The people here are very glad to learn that you have forsaken your old ways, and that you love the word of Jehovah. May you love his word more and more. May your mind be enlightened; may your heart be filled with good desires; and may you be prepared for heaven.

"Be friendly to the missionaries, who went from this country to teach your people. They need your help, so that they may preach to all your people.

"Let the children all learn to read the word of God. They will then know what Jehovah requires them to do.

"The Sabbath should be strictly observed. God gave it to man in great kindness and love. By honoring the Sabbath, we honor God who appointed it.

"You know that the missionaries speak the truth; that they love you much; and that their labor for the salvation of your souls is great.

"Mr. Stewart has just arrived here. He has spoken of you with much kind affection. He greatly desires the good of yourself and your people. His wife is much better in health than when she left the islands. We hope she will be entirely well, and that she will return to you again.

"Trust in Jehovah, and you will be safe. Be afraid of sin. Some of the chiefs of the South Sea Islands, after they appeared to have become the servants of God, have fallen into sin, and have been separated from the people of God. This is a great evil. Pray much against this, and be much on your guard.

"I very much desire that you may serve God faithfully, and be received at last to dwell with him in heaven. Your affectionate friend in the Gospel."

TO MRS. HALL.

Boston, September 5, 1826.

"Before you open the inclosed letters, or proceed far in reading these lines, permit me to request that you spend a few moments in prayer to God, that he would enable you to receive any intelligence here communicated with a composure and submission which shall be pleasing in his sight.

"Last evening, while we were at the monthly concert, it was reported that a vessel had arrived directly from Bombay. Toward the close of the meeting, letters were brought in, and we learned that mournful news were probably contained in them. We found occasion to recur to those great principles which authorize us to rely at all times upon the mercy, kindness, faithfulness, and righteousness of all God's dealings with mankind, and upon his peculiar favors to his own children. Though he chastens them for a season, yet he will never leave them nor forsake them, and the afflictions which they experience, though for the present not joyous, but grievous, will work out for them an eternal weight of glory.

"One of the first letters upon which I fixed my eyes, was written by Mr. Hall himself, at the close of which he informed me that he was just setting out on a preaching tour in the interior. This was dated the second of March.

"From other sources I soon learned that he proceeded on his tour, and was diligently employed in his work for more than two weeks. The cholera prevailed extensively in the country through which he passed.

"On the twentieth of the month your beloved husband was seized with that terrible disorder. It would seem that he had the command of his faculties; that he prescribed for himself; that he prayed, and repeatedly ascribed glory to God. The time of his departure had arrived. At twelve o'clock his spirit was released from the body, and I doubt not, was received by his Saviour.

"And now, my dear Madam, what remains, but that you seek of your Heavenly Father those consolations which He can only give. We tenderly commend you and your little boy to his paternal care, and we ask for you his blessing. We sympathize with you in your sorrows, and shall be ready to afford you all the aid and counsel in our power.

"May you be enriched with spiritual consolations, and guided in the way of life and peace."

The annual meeting of the Board was held at New Haven. The year had been one of uncommon religious activity, and Mr. Evarts was much, but very pleasantly employed, while at home, in various consultations and labors for the promotion of the Lord's kingdom. The week, had passed away, leaving behind a lively impression of encouragement and increasing hope. His labors were evidently not in vain in the Lord. He left home with a full heart. The spirit that he had labored for so many years to promote, was diffusing itself over the land, and its fruits were seen in numerous revivals of religion, in the multiplication of benevolent societies, and in their increased activity and power. The atmosphere was becoming more congenial; and his desires and hopes were expressed in the Annual Report, with the freedom and energy that belong to discourse on mighty interests, when the speaker is sure of the hearer's sympathy.*

> "At none of our previous meetings," he says, "have the reasons for mutual congratulation, or the excitements to united thanksgiving, been more numerous or more delightful. Whether we direct our attention to the manifest increase of divine light in the regions of darkness where our missions have been planted;—to the rapid progress of education, under the fostering care of this Board, and of numerous kindred institutions;—to the power which truth is now exerting, wherever it is brought to bear upon the prejudices, the superstitions, and the idolatries of many generations;—to the remarkable exhibitions of mercy in the revivals of religion, especially in our colleges and schools, by which the past year has been greatly distinguished;—to the earnest thus given, that the supply of faithful ministers and missionaries shall not fail, and the proof thus furnished, that the Lord of missions, ever mindful of his promise, is operating, according to his established plan, by means and instruments provided in due season and proper order;—to the field for evangelical labor, opening and expanding, in many directions, as far as our vision can extend;—to the simultaneous movement of the great religious charities of the day, all informed by the same living principle, and advancing with equal and unfaltering step in the same upward course;—to the general conviction which has taken possession of reflecting minds, that some great change in the intellectual and moral condition of our race is near;—to the increased facilities for concentrated and powerful action, afforded by the late happy union of this Board with a sister institution;—or to the 'earnest expectation of the heathen world,' more apparent than at any former period, that the 'creation' is to be delivered from the burden of guilt and woe, under which it has 'groaned and travailed in pain till now:'—in short, whether we look at the universal aspect of things, or at any one prominent and peculiar feature of the times in which we live, we are prompted to exclaim, Blessed are the eyes which behold these animating scenes, and blessed are the hands which are permitted to lay hold of these beneficent agencies."

---

* The eloquent conclusion of this Report was written at New Haven, on Commencement day, when, after having joined the public procession, he retired to his lodgings and devoted to that work the hours of the public exercises.

"It would seem that if a man were permitted to choose the epoch of his short residence on earth with a sole view to his greatest usefulness to the church of Christ, it would be difficult for him to prefer any other time to the present. In former ages, the faithful were obliged to look forward through a long succession of gloomy years, till the domination of the man of sin and of the false prophet should be completed; but now we are able to see under the borders of that black and baleful curtain which the god of this world has drawn over its guilty surface, and is now struggling in vain to hold to its original fastenings. The light shines not only in Goshen, but the Egyptian darkness of six thousand years begins to break away, and glimpses of the Sun of Righteousness are beheld from many a mountain and plain never visited by his beams before;—sure presage of that effluence of light, which shall cast an air of splendor and beauty over the habitations of men, penetrate the darkest cavern to which guilt has retreated, and melt the massy bars of the dampest dungeon in which either innocence or guilt has been immured. Two or three centuries hence, and the battle will have been fought, the victory achieved, and the opportunity for gaining laurels in this warfare will have passed away. But now is the time for vigorous action, for holy enterprise, for exploits which shall become the theme of grateful recollection and lofty celebration forever. Where is the man emulous of a distinction which God will approve, and panting after a renown which shall never mock the possessor? Let him put on his armor, and gird himself for the pending controversy. Has he the faculty of speaking in public, and of pleading the cause of millions, groaning under the tyranny of sin, and exposed to its penalty? Let him fill his mouth with arguments, and pour forth from a warm heart such a flood of eloquence, as shall sweep away the defences of avarice and the objections of covert infidelity. Let him raise his voice to such a pitch of vehement expostulation, as shall awaken the half slumbering churches, and incite the friends of the Redeemer to deeds worthy of their high calling. Does he hold the pen of a ready writer? He may address himself to the reason and consciences of men,—call into action their dormant energies,—and thus generate an influence which shall extend itself beyond the powers of human calculation. Can he relate facts, and deliver a consistent testimony to the honor of his God? Then let him recount, in the social and domestic circle, the great events which are transpiring, and the greater and more glorious ones which are foretold. Is he called to the high office of a Christian missionary? He may immediately erect the banner of the cross upon the ruins of some of Satan's demolished fortresses. Can he teach even a little school of heathen children, in a retired glen among the mountains? He may lay the foundation for Christian institutions, that shall shed around them a healing power, and remain an expression of the divine beneficence to the end of time. No man is so highly gifted, as not to find the amplest scope for his talents, were they a thousand times greater than they are; and no man is so feeble, as to forbid his aspiring after the honor of furnishing material aid to a cause, which needs and will receive the voluntary services of countless multitudes.

"We live not only in the most favored age, but in a part of the world where peculiar advantages for benevolent exertion are presented. Far be the thought of boasting, on this sacred occasion, either of our temporal or spiritual privileges. What have we, that we have not received? What have we, that we have not forfeited by our negligence and ingratitude? Yet we are not, under the pretence of humility, to remain ignorant of the amazing power which American Christians may now exert upon the destinies of men; nor unmindful of the account to be rendered of our distinguished opportunities. In a new and growing country, already containing great resources, and making rapid progress in the acquisition of greater;—a country in which a singular impulse has been given to the human faculties, by the great events in our political history, and by the prospect of improving his condition which is held out to every individual;—a country maintaining a constant intercourse with all parts of the world, and exhibiting a commercial enterprise never surpassed;—and, above all, a country upon which spiritual influences, in the form of revivals of religion, have descended with most benign efficacy for the last thirty years;—in such a country, with such resources and such prospects, what may not be accomplished for Christ? How shall we limit or restrain our capabilities of receiving and diffusing moral good? Though Christians in many other lands might plead their narrow sphere of action, and the barriers which inclose them on all sides; though they might dwell upon their almost universal poverty, and the oppressive burdens which they are compelled to bear;—no such pleas will avail in our case. And great will be our condemnation, and great our shame, if, while we applaud magnificent plans and gigantic efforts in relation to other subjects, we content ourselves with puny calculations and pigmy enterprises for the glory of God and the salvation of men.

"We shall be the more inexcusable, as we see more living and demonstrative proof than probably was ever seen before, that we may certainly calculate upon a good moral effect from a persevering application of good moral power. Every genuine believer in Christianity, and every other person who is willing to see things as they are, may easily be convinced, that the circulation of the Bible, the establishment of schools in which the true religion is taught, and the faithful preaching of the Gospel, will as certainly change the moral condition and prospects of a community, as that the introduction of true systems of geography and astronomy into seminaries of learning will banish the absurdities of Hindoo philosophy. Doubtless no human instrumentality is adequate to effect the conversion of a single soul; but wherever human instrumentality is cogently applied to this object, for a series of years, it is so universally attended by a higher influence, that this united effect of human labor and divine energy seems a part of the settled plan of God's administration. It is not more certain that industry tends to the accumulation of property, or that study and observation enrich the mind with knowledge, than that the preaching of the Gospel, in whatever country, is made the means of preparing souls for heaven. And to bring the matter home to the bosom of each individual, a man may just as reasonably expend his property in large sums, and in pursuance of a settled plan of action, in the expectation of being the voluntary and happy instrument of saving souls from death and bringing them to glory, as he may sow his field in expectation of a harvest, or lay the foundation of his house in hope of completing it, or send his ship to sea in hope of a return, He may as reasonably expect to succeed in the first object, as in the others; and, if his motive be right, he cannot fail of his reward. The man who sends a missionary to Africa or Asia, though his missionary should die on the passage, will have it remembered to his honor, when this world shall have passed away, that he stretched out his hand to raise his distant fellow creatures from degradation and sin; that he made a serious effort, at a personal sacrifice, to impart to the sufferers on another continent, the blessings which he valued in his own case; and that he set an example of benevolence and public spirit, which, if followed by all who entertain similar hopes, would soon change the condition of the world, and fill it with righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. The man, who sends forth in different languages a great number of Bibles and tracts, may, after pursuing this course for several years, come to the firm persuasion, that he has aided many souls in their escape from death, and probably conveyed the light of life to some minds that would otherwise have remained in utter darkness forever. It should be deeply impressed upon the heart of every Christian, especially in these days, that sinners are as truly saved by human instrumentality from sinking into the gulf of perdition, as the shipwrecked mariner is rescued from a watery grave, by the adventurous interposition of spectators who hasten to his relief in a lifeboat. Why is it, then, that any man should think himself a consistent Christian, without laboring as strenuously to exert some agency in bringing immortal souls to glory, as the most enterprising merchant, or the most laborious farmer presses forward in the pursuit of wealth? Both these classes of objects are sought voluntarily, and both with hopes of success. But how amazing the disparity in their value! and with how much alacrity the least valuable are sought, while those which are of more intrinsic worth than the material universe, are neglected!"

With these feelings and hopes he entered upon the duties of the autumn. "Let me remind you," he writes to a returned missionary, then about to enter upon an agency for the Board, "let me remind you what a noble part for the cause of God you may, by his grace, have it in your power to assume during the year to come. I know scarcely any sphere of exertion more extensive, or more desirable, than that upon which you are now entering. With the Divine blessing you may do more in one year to hasten the approach of the millennium, than many a faithful minister, even in these days, can do during a long life. Think much of this, and pray much about it; and when you are composing sermons, remember that a single good paragraph, written with precision, force and unction, may put in motion a thousand active minds, and lead to tens of thousands of blessed results."

In November he visited New York, to assist in arrangements for enlisting the churches of that city in aid of the Board. The union with the Presbyterian Society having been consummated, it became the duty of the friends of the cause to make that arrangement as effective as possible. In this service he spent several weeks, not returning to Boston till one of the last days of the year. It was a time of unremitted labor, and no little anxiety and perplexity. The formal union that had been effected, was to be made an efficient one; and the first movements for that end demanded great care, as well as activity and energy. The regular organization necessary in order to bring the subject properly before all the members of the churches, did not always meet with ready concurrence. When meetings had been planned and notified with great care and labor, the result, as to the numbers present and the amount subscribed, was often disheartening. On one occasion, returning from a meeting in one of the most wealthy churches, he wrote to his associates at Boston: "Those who were present, appeared gratified; and if I had not thought of the numerous disheartening things which I have witnessed elsewhere, I should have been altogether pleased with the appearance of the people, and should have been full of sanguine hopes as to the result. As it was, I could not help hoping. No objection was made—all were interested and pleased—none were disgusted or offended—all were ready to subscribe—and how much do you think they did subscribe? I was told by one who summed up the different papers, that *eighty-nine dollars* were entered; and I observed that the sums varied from $10 to fifty cents. I presume that every one felt fully satisfied that he had done his duty. I know not what to say, and therefore say nothing." In other instances, however, the results were in a high degree gratifying, and he had the pleasure in each succeeding year to see that these efforts had not been in vain, but were likely to produce, as they have done, abundant and increasing fruits of Christian liberality.

The failure to obtain in New York generally the liberal subscriptions that he hoped for, was felt the more sensibly on account of the state of the treasury at the time.

Yet he performed his agency thoroughly and energetically to the end. "This city and Boston," he said, "ought to be, and must be, closely united in benevolent action."

While in New York, he also drew up with much care a plan upon which the Tract Society might give its aid to missionary operations without danger of compromising its principles, and with the least possible embarrassment and delay in bringing out the publications in distant parts of the world and in languages unknown in this country. The plan, for substance, was adopted, and still guides these operations. In a letter to the Secretary of the Society, explaining his views, he remarks that, "among the numerous charitable institutions of the present day, there are few indeed which can co-operate so extensively and beneficially, as Missionary and Tract Societies;" that "this co-operation can be continued and extended from the incipient stages of missionary effort to the final triumph of Christianity in every part of the world;" and concludes, in the catholic spirit that was habitual with him, as follows: "Though my attention is especially drawn to the wants of the missions under the care of our Board, yet I have learned with pleasure that our Baptist brethren in the Cherokee nation contemplate establishing a mission-press; and in such an event, I am persuaded that a grant of paper would be a particular favor to that mission and to the people for whose benefit it was instituted."

TO REV. W. A. HALLOCK, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

Boston, January 8, 1827.

"Your letter of December 30th arrived at the Missionary Rooms on the 2d instant, the day before I had the pleasure of entering the place where most of all I delight to labor. The kind manner in which I have been made welcome to the Rooms of the

Tract Society's House, and the affectionate sympathy with which I was received by your Committee, are gratefully remembered. The deep interest which you and your associates take in the missionary cause, is one among many proofs of the expansive nature of Christian benevolence. Wherever men are seriously engaged in attempts to benefit the souls of their fellow creatures by one process of evangelical labor, they cherish with delight every other process by which the same object is attempted with a reasonable prospect of success. Accept my thanks for the kindness and patience with which you bore interruption in your constant labors, from myself and my coadjutors being so near you."

Upon the labors and results of his visit to New York, he remarks, in a letter written after his return: "My visit had been long expected, and the patrons of our Board residing there wished much for some external agency—that is, some agency from abroad. I labored there for six weeks, sometimes in circumstances of great discouragement, and under a most oppressive weight of care, such as I never experienced before. Indeed, this whole service was wearing in the extreme upon my spirits. How much rather would I have been employed as I was with you last April in the Choctaw wilderness, swimming the head waters of Pearl river! Drafts for $25,000 were to be provided for in London; we had paid for debts and the missions of the United Foreign Missionary Society, more than $15,000 over and above what we had received through the channels of that Society; and I dreaded open and irretrievable bankruptcy; not because we had not credit enough to borrow the money, but because borrowing would only delay the evil, not prevent its pressure. You will have seen our Address in the February Herald on this subject. . . . . . Our missionaries at all our old stations may well reflect with great seriousness, that all injudicious and improvident expenditures at these stations greatly retard the sending of aid to those missions abroad which imperiously demand aid; and I cannot at this moment form an opinion when we shall be able to send a single missionary to Bombay, although the voice of the whole Christian world would compel us to send immediately."

Among the letters written by Mr. Evarts during the few weeks that he now spent in Boston and the vicinity, was a long one of seven sheets to a missionary among the Indians, in which he enters with great minuteness into the discussion of various perplexing questions that embarrassed the operations of the mission. In conclusion, after referring to a want of brotherly love and of a public spirit in regard to the common interests of the mission, and a disposition to blame one another, confessedly prevalent at some missions, he concludes in a strain of earnest expostulation, that may well be commended to the prayerful attention of many Christians elsewhere, as well as to those for whom it was written. "The Prudential Committee," he says, "are appealed to most particularly for a remedy. Now if the Committee were much wiser than they are, how could they apply a remedy to such a case as this, when it is confessed that the parties live in habitual disregard of some of the plainest commands of the New Testament, such as those which require them to love one another, and to be of the same mind and of the same judgment; and when, as is too apparent, each one seeks his own good, and few of them the things which are Jesus Christ's? I do not apply these questions to any but those who have made the most ample confessions. The New Testament is the grand directory; and where that fails of regulating the lives of missionaries, what can be done?

"One solemn appeal I would desire to make to every individual who reads or hears this letter. It is this: If every other individual connected with missions should fail in his duty, I charge you to see that the souls of these poor Indians be not lost through *your* neglect. If your schools should be relinquished, and your mission houses abandoned to the owls, and weeds should take undisturbed possession of your fields;—if the government should become discouraged, and the enemies of the red men should triumph in their hopeless degradation, and the failure of Indian missions should bereave other people of spiritual knowledge, and the tide of Christian benevolence should experience a most disastrous ebb;—if this course of calamity should be seen, to the dismay of Christ's friends and the exultation of his foes, resolve that, by the grace of God, *you* will have no share in producing it; that you will clear your hands of it utterly; that you will not spend your time in finding fault with others, but in a cheerful and thorough devotion of your strength to your own work, in your appropriate sphere of action.

"The plan of missions among the Indians may have defects which we have not yet discovered; and there are some already discovered which do not admit of an immediate remedy; but I am convinced there is no such defect of plan as will excuse from blame in case of an utter failure. A great responsibility rests upon those who are in the field,—a responsibility from which they cannot escape, if they would, and from which they ought not to wish an escape possible. This responsibility consists, not in making new theories, so much as in taking up the cross *daily*, and following Christ in the regeneration. It appears to me that the spirit of a true missionary would prompt to the exclamation, *Woe is me, if the gospel be not preached to these heathen!* Woe is me, if the souls of these Indians perish! Let me do anything, let me be anything, to subserve this glorious purpose of saving them from ruin!"

Of these remarks, he afterwards repeats an expression of anxiety lest they should be misapplied, or unnecessarily injure the feelings of any person in the service of the missions. "I have endeavored," he says, "to write just as I think would be useful to myself, if I were laboring in one of the Indian missions at this time." He adds: "When I began this letter, I thought it possible that I might attempt to visit the Osage missions in April or May next; in which case I might land at Memphis in March, and spend a fortnight in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. But the Committee think my services more important on this side the Alleghany mountains. I am perfectly ready to travel any where, and to do any thing which shall seem to be consistent with the best allotment of my time."

CHAPTER VII.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY. 1827—1828.

THE mind of Mr. Evarts, though early displaying the soundness and equable vigor of maturity, was yet in a state of constant growth. His sphere of activity became rapidly enlarged, but never outgrew his power to discharge its duties. This was especially noticeable when, by the death of Dr. Worcester, he was left the oldest executive officer of the Board, and the only individual acquainted, by personal participation in its concerns, with its whole history, and with all its agencies and relations, at home and abroad. His mind, it was observed, acted with increased freedom and energy, and every new exigency seemed to gird him with new strength and develope new resources. Very early in life he adopted and inscribed in the volumes of his library the motto—

" *Nil sine magno vita labore dedit mortalibus.*"

And just as strongly as he believed that nothing worthy is ever brought to pass in this world *without* hard work, did he also believe that *by* hard work, any man, and himself in particular, could do well whatever it might be incumbent upon him to do at all. The increasing duties of his office from time to time were therefore all met as matters of business, about the adequate discharge of which there ought not to be, and must not be, any question. He shrunk from no task because it was hard, no undertaking because it was great, no difficulty because it was perplexing. The work of the Lord must not be slighted; and when, in special exigencies, business accumulated unexpectedly and beyond the physical energies at command, the hardest and worst of it was yet done promptly and thoroughly. When, in addition to this, we recollect his singular memory, and his ability to command at any moment all that he had ever known of persons and events, we may readily conceive that, as was the fact, he not only kept up with the routine of his work, but went forward in it with constantly increasing power and expanding sympathies.

We now approach another marked period in his history, when his mind and principles were subjected to new tests. It became his duty to spend much time in co-operation or in conflict with men in political life, of the highest ability, and familiar with all the sources of political power and influence. If any such had thought of him hitherto only as the Editor of a Religious Journal, or as the Secretary of a Missionary Society, and therefore ignorant of what is required and what may be done in those capacities—had regarded him as a man of limited views and resources, and unfitted for *their* sphere of action, they were soon undeceived.

Before the end of February, 1827, he was again at New York, on his way to Washington. He found the affairs of the auxiliary in an encouraging state. "The work," he says, "appeared to be in pretty good progress, four thousand three hundred dollars having been paid to the Treasurer. A letter of directions for Executive Committees, Secretaries, and Treasurers, needs to be prepared with great care, containing all the useful suggestions which can be thought of. This will relieve our constitution from several details, which impede the business of forming societies."

"Philadelphia, February 25. Sabbath. Called upon a friend, and accompanied him to Arch-street Church, (Dr. Janeway's) where the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. The Doctor preached from 1 Cor. v. 7, *For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us*, on the design and benefits of the atonement. This text, by the way, would come within the scope of Dr. Channing's reproach and ridicule.

"Washington, February 27. Learned, to my gratification, that

Mr. Stewart* made his statement in the Representatives' Chamber at the time appointed, and that it was received with much interest. I cannot learn that there were many members of Congress present. It was not expected by me that there would be. But the house was full, and the assembly very respectable. Mr. Southard† waited on Mr. S. to the chair, and helped him sing, as he was obliged to be chorister as well as preacher, and to *raise the tune*, as it is called here.

"March 2. Mr. Stewart's story appeared so marvellous that all were not able to credit it. Some said it was a priest's story. General ——— said he would rather have heard it from *a good honest sailor;* by which, I suppose, we are to understand that the veracity of ministers of the Gospel is not equal to that of honest sailors. However, there will be a real benefit in having the statement made in this place. It will show that we are not afraid to meet the rulers of the people on their own ground, and to state before the world facts tending to prove the value of the Gospel to the most debased of our species.

"3. Called on Colonel M'Kee, formerly Indian Agent among the Choctaws. I inquired what he thought would ultimately become of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. He says they will sell their land and remove beyond the Mississippi, or they will waste away and become extinct. He adds that, as a people, they are in much worse circumstances now than ten years ago. He attributes this deterioration principally to the vicinity of the whites, and the greater facilities thus furnished for the introduction of whiskey. Several Indians whom he formerly knew to be possessed of considerable property, are now mere vagabonds, having spent all they were worth for whiskey.

"These reasons would weigh powerfully in favor of a removal of the Indians, if it were possible to get them out of the reach of vicious white men. As the case now is, I think their prospects very gloomy. Individuals may be converted, and in this let us rejoice; and, perhaps, we ought not to give up the hope that, as communities, they may be Christianized and preserved. The history of savage nations, however, coming into close contact with civilized ones, gives us little reason to make very sanguine conclusions as to the preservation of the former in their national capacity."

---

* Rev. C. S. Stewart, then lately returned from the Sandwich Islands.

† Secretary of the Navy.

At this time Mr. Evarts found the controversy between Georgia and the Cherokees, which finally resulted in the removal of the latter from their native soil and the graves of their fathers, already occupying the attention of Congress. On the 2d of March, Mr. Everett, of Massachusetts, made in the House of Representatives a report sustaining the claims of the Cherokees to jurisdiction within their own territory, independent of the States, as secured to them by treaty. Mr. Drayton, of South Carolina, presented resolutions of an opposite tenor, maintaining that the individual States have entire jurisdiction over the Indians within their respective chartered limits. Mr. Evarts was present, and while in Washington watched the progress of the discussion with the liveliest interest.

He was chiefly employed, however, with Mr. Stewart, in attending missionary meetings, assisting in the organization of associations, &c., in which work he found the usual obstacles and encouragements. "It takes a great while," he says, after attending such meetings for several days in succession, "it takes a great while to raise people up to the proper standard of giving. We must be patient, and proceed as fast as we can. In the mean time, let us examine well our own motives, and strive to urge others to act with a supreme reference to the glory of God."

"March 9. Yesterday I called with Mr. S. upon the President. He was alone, but we had not more than well entered into conversation before others were admitted, and they were succeeded by another, till I found there was little hope of seeing him alone again, and therefore came away. I wished to speak to him freely on the subject of our missions among the Indians, and began with some observations on the late Georgia controversy. I thought it my duty to say to him, that so far as I had learned or could judge, the late stand taken by the Government was warmly approved; and that this approbation rested not so much upon the present controversy, as upon the principle asserted: viz. that the

Indians are to be protected in their rights. I added that I presumed the present difficulty might easily be settled by the purchase of the narrow strip of land now claimed of the Creeks by Georgia; but that the same principles would be applicable to other disputes, which would probably arise soon, and therefore it was of great consequence to have them distinctly asserted. He appeared rather gratified.

"Last evening Mr. S. and myself attended a meeting in Mr. ——'s congregation, for the purpose of organizing an association. We pursued the usual course with the usual success. The people were pleased with what they heard; at least they *appeared* to be pleased; but not much zeal was discovered when they came to act. We had dined at Georgetown, and after dinner met the collectors and endeavored to inspirit them; which was no easy matter. If there were in each congregation some two or three persons who would determine to labor hard in this cause, a great result would be produced."

"March 10. Col. —— related to me the following facts relative to the Treaty of the Indian Springs [between the United States and the Creek Indians,] which was formed in February, 1825. The commissioners were expressly directed by the Government not to treat at all, unless with the Creek Nation. They wrote for farther instructions, stating that they could not get the consent of the people at large, and wishing to be informed if they might not treat with part of the chiefs. Mr. Calhoun answered, that they must not treat with any persons, whether chiefs or not, unless they were authorized to speak for the people. And yet the commissioners made the treaty with a few persons whom they knew to be unauthorized, and sent it on to Washington in the greatest haste, that it might arrive before the Senate should adjourn. When Mr. Calhoun received it, he sent for Col. ——, and they looked over the signatures together. They were perfectly convinced that the highest chiefs and the mass of the people had nothing to do with it; and that the transaction was disgraceful in the extreme, and ought to be instantly disowned. Mr. Calhoun expressed himself very strongly on the subject; went over to the President's immediately with the document, and advised him to send it back without even laying it before the Senate.

Mr. Monroe, however, whose term of office was about to expire in two or three days, thought he had better send it to the Senate, and let that body take the responsibility of rejecting it. He sent with it the letter of the Agent, objecting to its validity; but as the same Agent had signed the treaty as a witness; as no person in the Senate was able and willing to explain the transaction; and as the friends of Georgia and the enemies of the Indians pressed the subject with extraordinary zeal and urgency, the treaty was ratified and sent back to Mr. Adams, who had become President. He doubtless disapproved the measure, but was not then acquainted with all its enormity. He felt himself to be in delicate circumstances, and wished to avoid collision with Georgia, if possible. He therefore assented to the treaty; but, soon after, learning more of its true character, he entered upon those negotiations which led to the treaty of 1826, by which the former was annulled. The two commissioners who effected the treaty of 1825, were citizens of Georgia, and acted entirely under the influence of her views and wishes. Thus were the rights of these poor dependent Indians bartered away; and there was no man in the Senate of the United States who could show the rest the rottenness and vileness of the whole transaction.

"Mr. Barbour entertained the same opinion as I have just expressed, in regard to the treaty of 1825, at the Indian Springs. He said there was not a man in the United States, who, if the facts were laid before him, could hesitate to say that that treaty was fraudulent and void; that in transactions between man and man, the attempt to enforce such a contract would be highly dishonorable; and that those men in Georgia who would insist upon *vested* rights under that treaty, would not hesitate to take the Cherokee lands without a treaty.

"Mr. Barbour then went into a long exposition of his views in regard to the Indians, which are substantially the same with those contained in his report on the subject, of February 1826. One great argument in favor of a removal of the Indians is, that they *cannot remain where they are*, on account of the determination of the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi that they *shall not*. This cupidity of the States, he thinks, will not be permanently resisted by the General Government. If, in the election of

President, the vote of Georgia should be necessary to a choice, Mr. Barbour supposes that men might possibly be found who would engage to do whatever Georgia should require. 'It was not to be disguised,' he said, 'that the solicitude now was, *who shall rule over us*, rather than *what the rulers shall do for the good of the people.*' There is no question that he is right in his opinion; and that this evil is of so prominent and notorious a character, as to form the most common topic of lamentation, complaint, and crimination, among all classes of people at Washington. These are humiliating facts; and should teach us that there is no safe reliance, except upon the kind overruling providence of God.

"Monday, March 12. Alexandria. Called on Mr. Keith, the Episcopal minister, yesterday, and again to-day. He is a man of the most catholic spirit, and warmly evangelical. He had given notice the day before of a meeting in his church this evening, which was held accordingly. A respectable number were present. Mr. Stewart spoke, and I followed. This is the first time (no, it is the *third* time) that I have spoken in an Episcopal church. The other two instances were at Georgetown and Fredericksburgh, three years ago, when I was with David Brown.

"March 18. Norfolk. You judged correctly that I should feel a deep interest in Mr. Goodell's letter,* of which you sent me a copy. I read it with great eagerness as soon as I received it, on board the steamboat, stopping repeatedly to indulge my feelings of admiration, and I hope of gratitude, for the remarkable progress of divine truth in that darkest region that has ever been professedly Christian. I was happy to receive so interesting and animating an account of your Monthly Concert. Very little attention is paid to that season, so far as I can learn, any where in the Middle States. It is very rare to find a man, even among the intelligent part of the community, who knows anything about missions; and in most places it would seem to be the work of years to excite even a small degree of attention to the subject.

"Called upon Mr. Southard immediately after breakfast, and conversed with him alone on two important points, namely, the Percival affair, and the appointment of a consul to reside at the Sandwich Islands.

---

* From Beirût, relating to affairs at Constantinople.—*Miss. Herald*, *vol.* xxiii, p. 112.

"19. I believe I mentioned in one of my late letters, that such is the impression made by the late fire here, that it would not be wise to attempt to raise funds for our Board at present. Indeed, to be yielding and silent is the only course; for we should not be supported by any considerable number of friends, should we make the attempt; while we should expose the cause to the charge of rashness and presumption. It is not the fact, however, that the fire has made any real difference in the ability of the mass of the people to give, or that it has occasioned any general distress, or is a subject of great lamentation. But the people have faint and feeble views in regard to the obligation and extent of claims upon them for the cause of Christ; and while this is the case, nothing can be done which *seems* to encroach upon the interests of the suffering poor at their doors."

From Norfolk he proceeded to Petersburgh and Richmond, in both which cities the agency was prosecuted with the usual success.

"Richmond, 27th. It is extremely difficult for an agent or an officer of the Board, to know what to say, when wishing to bring home to the conscience the duty of forming an elevated standard of Christian charity. On the one hand, you are in danger of making people contented with themselves, when they do not give one fiftieth part as much as they ought to give; and on the other, you may easily offend them by pressing an argument, or by stating what others are actually doing. I every day see the need of a *tract of examples*, to be circulated very freely in those parts of the country which are to be visited by agents.

"28. Attended a meeting in the Presbyterian church, where between one hundred and fifty and two hundred persons assembled. They felt much interested; and at the close, appointed the officers of the former missionary society, a committee to report concerning a new organization; which, I have no doubt, will be readily adopted. I do not flatter myself with the expectation of any great results. I shall not be surprised if Mr. Bissell shall raise more in the single village of Rochester, for the ten years to come, than will be raised in the great State of Virginia, for missions to the heathen."

His visit to Virginia was found afterwards to have produced a deeper and more lasting impression in favor of missions than these extracts indicate.

TO REV. C. KINGSBURY.

Washington city, April 5, 1827.

"Yesterday I called on Mr. Varnum, at his house in this city, and he showed me your letter of March 4th, on the subject of the alleged influence of the missionaries in reference to the removal of the Indians. I think your observations very proper and just; and that you need never be afraid of communicating your deliberate thoughts on this subject to any member of Congress, or any member of the government.

"I have conversed with the Secretary of War and with Col. McKenney repeatedly of late, on the subject of our policy toward the Indians. Their views are substantially the same as appear in the report of that Department of February 3, 1826, which I read with you at Mayhew. I told the Secretary that I approved the benevolent spirit of that report; and that I thought the character of this country was never so deeply concerned in this matter as at the present moment. Neither he nor Col. McKenney would urge the removal of the Indians, unless upon the following conditions:

"1. That they may be satisfied themselves with the country to which they are to be removed.

"2. That this country be secured to them, in such a manner that there shall be no danger of molestation hereafter.

"3. That the intrusion of the whites shall be prevented.

"4. That a good government, and the means of instruction, and of permanent improvement, shall be secured.

"5. That, in order to derive benefit from experience, the work of removal must be slow.

"On these principles, I certainly have not a single feeling adverse to the experiment being made. The subject is attended with many difficulties, let us take what course we may.

"As to the duty of missionaries, however, the case is very clear. They should not interfere at all with the political matters of the

Indians; and when asked what the government will do, the answer should always be—The President says the Indians shall not go without their own consent; and they must judge for themselves whether it is best for them to go or stay.

"We have some pleasing intelligence in regard to the missions which have lately come under our care near Buffalo, and at Mackinaw; and there are some causes of anxiety.

"May the Lord bless his own truth, and fill the world with his glory."

In another letter of the same date and upon the same subject, he says: "Nothing effectual will ever be done, unless the people take the matter in hand and compel Congress to give the subject an impartial consideration. If this is not practicable, the poor Indians will be trodden under foot, and hunted down like wild beasts, although the Executive should labor to save them with the greatest sincerity. In Congress all legislative measures must originate, and there all appropriations must be made; and I am sorry to say that Congress is strangely negligent of the public business."

Leaving Washington, he proceeded to Baltimore and Philadelphia, prosecuting his labors in both cities with encouraging success.

TO REV. R. ANDERSON.

Trenton, N. J., April 16, 1827.

"Dr. Green objected, as he said he should in his letter, to forming associations in aid of our Board in Philadelphia. He is willing, however, that a general collection should be made for our treasury, by calling upon those who are able to give liberally, and by taking up contributions in churches; and in this matter he is willing to give his name, his subscription, and his warm recommendation of the Board. But he objects to a permanent organization, because he thinks the Presbyterian church, as a church, and acting by its highest judicatory, should send forth missionaries. I endeavored to convince him that this was not done by any church in Christendom;—neither the Scottish Missionary Society, nor the London, nor any other, acting under the highest authorities of the church. I observed, further, that when the individual members of a church united in sending the gospel to the heathen, in a manner approved by the highest authority of that church, it could not be said that the church was guilty of negligence in regard to the missionary cause. If individuals acted with liberality and spirit, in a manner and for a purpose recommended by a church, it would be substantially the same thing as if the church acted in her representative or concentrated character. It did not appear, however, that my arguments carried much conviction with them; for the Doctor declared his intention, and the intention of his friends, to engage the General Assembly, if possible, to take up the subject of missions to the heathen. He did not know that he should be a member—and he did not know how many would support him in such a measure, if he were; but he felt bound in conscience to make the attempt. I asked him how it would be possible, in case a majority of the General Assembly should think with him, to place things as they were before the late union? He said there was no need of it. We had taken the missions, and paid the debts of the United Foreign Missionary Society, and we might take all the property of that Society. I told him that the property of the Society was nothing but certain buildings, &c., which were of no value, except upon the principle of continuing the missions where they were; and that the missions received from that Society were an annual charge of thousands of dollars upon our treasury, beside the large debt which we paid. I could hardly contain my surprise at the easy method of settling the matter which the Doctor had so readily discovered.

"There is no reason to apprehend that the General Assembly will adopt any measure inconsistent with the decision of last spring; and it is to be regretted that there should be any hesitation among the ministers of Philadelphia."

"Princeton, April 18. At 4 P. M., attended a meeting of the students in the Theological Seminary, and addressed them nearly an hour, on *the duty of a student of theology in regard to missions.* I divided my discourse as follows: 1. He is to understand the subject thoroughly. 2. He is to ascertain what the Lord would have him do. Among the reasons why he should not go on a foreign mission are—want of health, want of moral discipline, and certain engagements (like the care of agent parents) in this country. The following are not, of themselves, sufficient reasons for declining missionary service: 1. The demands of our own country. These demands are not so urgent as the claims of the heathen; and they are more likely to be supplied. 2. The want of pecuniary means to go forth immediately. Let the applicant, if no means are afforded, continue to seek for admission to the heathen, and this will rouse the churches to supply the means. 3. The want of a large field of certain operations among the heathen. These three reasons are not sufficient to excuse a man from missionary service.

"But, whether a candidate for the ministry goes abroad or stays at home, he should have a missionary character; and, if settled as a pastor, he should—

"1. Cultivate a missionary spirit among his people.

"2. Set a truly missionary example.

"3. Draw forth the intellectual and moral resources of his people, and of all within his reach, for this object.

"I added these two encouragements: 1. That success is in proportion to effort. 2. The peculiar character of the present age.

"At the close of the meeting, Dr. Alexander spoke to me on the subject of an asylum for superannuated and disabled missionaries, and the widows and children of missionaries. This will be a suitable subject for the business part of the next Report. The time has arrived when the minds of thinking people are a good deal directed to it; and the Board must take it up.

"19. Prepared a constitution, &c., for the meeting to-day. A meeting was held, and a central society formed under very happy auspices. Mr. Woodhull, the minister of the place, presided. Dr. Alexander moved the adoption of the constitution in a very good speech. He was followed by Mr. Stockton, a lawyer of Trenton, who spoke with great feeling. There was a great deal of animation, and this will be a very important auxiliary. An association was formed in the Seminary, which will probably raise $100. The ladies of this village have already collected $90. Mr. K. is delighted with the success here; and I think we may consider it as a maxim, that the more intelligent a community is, the more certain we are of success."

At the end of April he arrived at home, and spent a few weeks in the bosom of his family and in the society and the labors that he most delighted in. In June, however, we find him on another laborious excursion to the east, attending the anniversaries of auxiliaries in New Hampshire and Maine.

Besides these agencies abroad, in the general service of the cause, he was deeply interested and had much labor on his hands at this time, in preparing to send out a large reinforcement to the Sandwich Islands mission, which left the country early in November. There were, too, circumstances connected with that mission, that tried his feelings exceedingly, and occasioned much anxious thought and labor for many months. While the mission was excedingly prosperous in its efforts to elevate and purify the native character, and had secured the confidence of chiefs and people, an outbreak of lust and passion among unprincipled foreigners kept them, in 1826, in the most trying circumstances for the period of ten months. The persecution originated entirely from hostility to the purifying influences of the Gospel; and was so abominable in its character, so trying to the missionaries, such an obtrusion of the worst vices of civilized life upon a people just waking to a love of truth and purity, and in view of the official position of some of the actors, so dishonorable to our country's name, as to excite, wherever the facts were even partially known, feelings of the liveliest sympathy for the heroic missionaries and the outraged natives, and unutterable indignation at the conduct of men who were bound by their official station, as well as by all the ties of humanity, of a common country, and of religion, to place themselves in the attitude of benefactors and friends. On no subject, Mr. Evarts remarked, did he find it so difficult to control his feelings. "But let us cultivate," he added, "the meekness of Christianity; it may be well to publish a full disclosure; but not till after we have deliberated coolly."

Most prominent among the offenders, was Lieut. John Percival, of the United States Navy, who visited the Islands in command of the armed schooner Dolphin, in January, 1826. As this was the first public vessel from their native land, the missionaries had a right to expect civil treatment, at least, if not kind offices, from all on board. But in this reasonable expectation they were lamentably disappointed. Lieut. Percival at once assumed an attitude exceedingly hostile to the objects of the mission, and the whole influence of his visit was destructive of the interests of religion and morality. A law had been enacted by the chiefs, forbidding females to go on board foreign vessels, as had been customary, for the purposes of prostitution. Percival demanded the repeal of this law; and by the most outrageous and infamous means, at length succeeded in breaking up its salutary restraints.

After Mr. Evarts and his associates had "deliberated coolly" upon these transactions, it was resolved to make a formal complaint against Percival, to the Secretary of the Navy; and in consequence of their representations, a court of inquiry was ordered. This case occasioned him much labor and anxiety. The result will be seen on a subsequent page.

Nor was this all. The efforts of Mr. Evarts and his associates had conspired, with other influences, to awaken extensively a new feeling in regard to the work of missions. An address to the patrons of the Board, prepared by him and published in February, had produced an immediate and very perceptible effect in the increase of funds; the union of the Presbyterian Society with the Board had brought the operations of the latter more fully before the Christian public in the middle, southern, and western States; an important and active auxiliary had been formed in the city of New York, and much had been done in that state, New Jersey, and elsewhere, in the way of forming associations and exciting an interest. Early in the season, the Prudential Committee began to receive pressing applications from liberal individuals at a distance, proposing that a plan should be adopted by which the resources of the Board might be suddenly and greatly increased, with a view to enlarged operations. In this state of things, his feelings were expressed in the following letter:

TO JOSIAH BISSELL, JR. ROCHESTER, N. Y

Boston, July 15th, 1827.

"Your favor of the 9th, came to hand yesterday, and bore renewed evidence of the interest which you feel in the operations of our Board, and of the generous devotedness which you manifest to the cause of our blessed Redeemer. Your plan of raising money will be laid before our Committee at the first meeting. Although I think you calculate too sanguinely, I have great confidence in a measure which I have often contemplated, and which, I suppose, is substantially the same as yours. It is this:—to send out an agent to call upon rich men who profess to be followers of Christ, and spend time with one after another in succession, at their own houses, till they would cheerfully take upon them an engagement to pay a handsome sum annually, as long as God shall give them the ability. This measure was first suggested by the lamented Mr. Fisk, who intended, if his life had been spared, to execute such an agency in our land, and to say plainly to any individual to whom God has given property, and who acknowledged his responsibility, that he ought to give enough, regularly, to support a married missionary; or, in other words, that such men should give, according to their ability, one $300, another $500, another $700, another $1,000, annually. He would add,—'My dear sir, you will feel better and happier to give enough to send a married or an unmarried missionary, and to sustain him permanently, than you will if you take but a feeble part in this greatest, best of labors. You are able to support a missionary. You will never feel the loss of the money; and the effects of such an effort will be great, and will have a happy bearing on the destiny of immortal beings.' In some such manner, that beloved missionary thought he could prevail with rich disciples to honor the Lord with their substance. He has been called away to higher services; but others remain, and must perform their respective duties.

"You have my hearty concurrence in what you say about a high standard, and the boldness which becomes agents of our public charities. We must take care, however, not to urge strong meat upon those who are unable to bear it. Let us do what we can to raise the Christian character, in every respect, and especially in works of beneficence."

At the annual meeting in September, which was held in the city of New York, this feeling developed itself in the most impressive manner, so that all hearts were remarkably moved in view of the greatness and urgency of the work. The sessions of the Board instead of closing, as usual, on Friday or Saturday, were continued to Monday evening. In the conclusion of the Annual Report, Mr. Evarts had taken such views of the purposes and the grandeur of the missionary movement, and of its relations to all the noblest interests of humanity, and had poured forth his soul in such earnestness of eloquent appeal, as to very much deepen the impression that already prevailed.

"Of all the moral phenomena in the present eventful period of the world, none is more evident, than that the cause of religion at home and abroad is one; that the same principles which prompt to the Christian education of our families and to the instruction and warning of our relatives and friends, naturally impel to evangelical efforts for the benefit of every portion of the human race; that this tendency of benevolent principles does not exist in theory merely, but is seen in daily practice; and that henceforth the attempt to separate living piety from expansive beneficence, will be as vain as it is unscriptural. On this subject, the church is certainly making advances of the most auspicious character. It is difficult to see how she can go backward, without such a dereliction of principle as shall seriously alarm her, and arouse her from any partial slumber into which she may have begun to fall. May we not rest assured, then, that the number of public spirited, self-denying Christians will be increasing in all future time? May we not take it for granted, that all existing plans for the melioration of mankind will be rendered more perfect and more enlarged in their operation; and that more of sanctified talent, and more of that wisdom which is from above, will be called into the administration of these high concerns? And, with the accompanying favor of heaven, may we not expect to see the waters of salvation flowing in broader and deeper channels, till they shall have reached the remotest habitations of men?

"These pleasing anticipations seem warranted in part by the course which serious and contemplative minds are taking in the most enlightened countries of continental Europe. Evidence from various quarters, and of many kinds, leaves no room for doubting that persons of a philosophical cast are, to a considerable extent, looking to religion, as the last and only hope of man. Other things have promised much, but have regularly failed in the performance, till this failure is generally seen and acknowledged. The inefficacy of human systems is so manifest, that the claims of Christianity are examined anew, and with increasing interest. A conviction hence arises, and is spreading, that for the improvement of man in all his domestic and social relations; for the acquisition and preservation of liberty; for the wise and equitable administration of civil government, all other means are immeasurably inferior to the simple efficacy of the Gospel. When the mind has proceeded thus far, it does not stop till the cause of this astonishing power is investigated; and when it is found, that the Bible consults the temporal happiness of man by setting before him a law which reaches the heart, and with the most awful sanctions restrains all those inordinate desires, by which the world has been kept in so much agitation and suffering; then the conclusion is irresistible, that the Bible had its origin with Him who is *wonderful in council and excellent in working*, who *knew what was in man*, and who provides, with all a father's tenderness, for the recovery of his erring children, by sending forth the renovating and healing influences of his Spirit, with the faithful annunciation of his Word. In a process like this, the minds of many reflecting and intelligent men are at this moment advancing. They hail with delight the multiform operations of Christian benevolence; and seem to look with anxious expectation for the blessed results. There is most manifestly a constant accession of favor to the missionary cause; and it is exerting an influence, in various ways, much greater and more salutary, than inattentive observers are in the habit of suspecting.

" While this state of things should excite grateful emotions, and lead to humble confidence in God, by whom the hearts of princes, and pontiffs, and philosophers, are turned whithersoever he will, it is not to be disregarded, that there is also a manifest increase of hostility to missions and to the great cause of evangelical virtue. Men seem extensively to be taking sides with more determined spirit than heretofore. There is, no doubt, a large inert mass, which remains as yet unmoved. But the exertions of Christians for so many and so noble objects, all conspiring together for the grandest consummation which the earth is ever to witness, cannot escape the observation of those who pay any attention to the movements of the moral world. It must be expected, therefore, that all the adherents of old and rotten systems of religious error, fenced in as they are by civil and ecclesiastical despotism; all who openly cast off the restraints which the Gospel imposes upon the guilty passions; all who have made up their minds that they will never deny themselves, nor do good to others, from any fear of God or regard to man; and all who would dread that religion should get such a power and currency in the world, as to influence public opinion on the greatest subjects of human interest:—these classes of men, and all who fall under their sway, are rallying, and will gradually assume the form of most decided resistance. At least, such appear to be the indications of the present day."

" That the church may fulfil her high destinies, as the channel through which spiritual blessings are dispensed to a guilty world, it seems necessary that professors of religion generally, and leading members of our churches especially, should make great advances beyond their present attainments. A few of the particulars in which such an advance should be apparent, are all that the present occasion permits to be mentioned.

"1. *Christians should more properly estimate the object of mission-*

ary exertion. Thousands who approve of this object, and count themselves among its friends, have very inadequate notions of its magnitude or its merits. They seem not to be aware that the object of missionary exertions is no less than the moral renovation of a world; that the base passions which have so long and so deplorably tyrannized over the noble faculties of man, are to be subdued; that all that is oppressive in governments, all that is refractory and seditious among the people, all that is fierce, overbearing and unjust in the conduct of nations toward each other, is to give place to the law of love, carried equally into the greatest and the least transactions. Wars are to cease. All the domestic relations are to be sanctified. Every village is to have its school and its church; every family its Bible, and the morning and the evening prayer. The tabernacle of God is to be pitched among men. The favor of God is to be invoked upon every enterprise; a reverential fear of God is to pervade every movement; the love of God is to be cherished in every bosom. Then will have arrived the time when trees of righteousness shall stretch forth their protecting branches in every country, and display their fresh and undecaying foliage for the healing of the nations. Then the days of mourning, lamentation, and woe shall be succeeded by universal confidence, peace, and joy; and the acclamations of ransomed millions, without a discordant voice, will ascend from all the continents and islands of this regenerated and happy world.

"2. *The disciples of Christ should more justly estimate the consequences of their personal efforts.* Perhaps there is no subject on which men are more apt to err, than in not assigning its proper and full effect to a consistent example, and to a persevering course of Christian beneficence. The individual who holds all his powers and faculties consecrated to the service of his Lord, will, in the lapse of years, infuse the same spirit into others; and will thus multiply the means of doing good to a surprising extent. And now, when the faithful labors of the pious are seen to have so direct a bearing upon the prosperity of our own churches, the purification of our great community, the conversion of distant tribes, and the renovation of the world, what excuse can there be for apathy, or for slow, hesitating, and feeble movements? Whatever may have been the case in former times, when there was little communication between different parts of the world, and when all the advantages of concentrated action had not been proved, it is now perfectly apparent that the friends of God and man are called upon to act with one heart and one soul, for the accomplishment of one grand object. This great and blessed union, so holy in its design, so reasonable in its nature, so glorious in its results, cannot be promoted in any way so rapidly, or so effectually, as by bringing to its aid an active, zealous, personal influence. Now is the time for noble examples, attended by lively exhortations and a faithful testimony to others. Let the man who can easily make his influence felt through a neighborhood, or a town, give himself no rest till it shall be actually thus felt; and till his friends and neighbors shall become associated with him in the most delightful work to which their hands and hearts were ever invited. Is he able to move a county or a state, let him feel the urgency of the claims which his Saviour has upon him. And while he goes forth to stimulate his brethren, let him remember how great will be the difference between their engaging in the cause now, with their whole strength, and their deferring it to a more convenient season, and leaving it to the uncertainty of future years.

"3. *The followers of Christ have need to make much greater advances than they have yet made, in feeling and manifesting an interest in the success of their Master's cause.* If, as the Apostle says, *whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it,* how lively should the sympathy be, at the present day, between the professors of godliness in Christian lands, and their brethren among the heathen!—between the great host of the faithful, and the small band of pioneers, who have penetrated into the territories of the enemy! Far from the heart be apathy, negligence, lukewarmness. Every man, and every woman, who can feel for the sufferings of our race, and can judge what it is to have no hope, and to live without God in the world, should watch every movement in the preparations for the great struggle which is commencing. What right will any one have to exult in the victory, who now sits with his arms folded, and his mind at ease, when the greatest of all controversies is about to be decided? What right has such an one to number himself among the soldiers of the cross? If a man does not exhibit signs of life at such a time as this, how can it be concluded that he has the principle of life within him? Let it be well considered, then, how vast an augmentation of interest there must be in our churches, before all the members shall be prepared to take that part in the benevolent operations of the day, which would comport so well with their profession, and to which they are urged by every motive of fidelity to their Lord.

"4. It should be more generally felt than it seems to be at present, *that great advances in personal holiness are indispensable to a rapid and successful prosecution of the missionary work.* This is a matter of vital importance. If it is overlooked, all the machinery of missions, schools and presses, will be a cumbersome apparatus,—a laborious, exhausting, useless parade. It is believed, indeed, that true piety, sincere love to God and man, is at the bottom of the extraordinary efforts which we behold. But a great increase of piety, at home and abroad, is extremely desirable. After all proper allowances on account of the reverence which we justly feel for the memory of saints in ages that are past, where can we now find such men as Baxter and Doddridge, Edwards and Brainerd? Or if we can fix upon an individual, here and there, who bears a pleasing resemblance to these illustrious champions of the cross, how rare are the instances. But the exigencies of the times demand many, very many individuals, who, in purity of doctrine, holiness of life, compass of thought, enlargement of views, capacity of labor, intenseness of desire, fervor of zeal, and assurance of triumph, shall make a visible and near approach to the great

Apostle of the Gentiles. The friends of missions, the conductors of missions, and the beloved missionaries themselves, need fresh anointings from on high. Oh that it would please the God of all consolation and hope to inspire his servants with a pure devotion, accompanied by spiritual influences shed abroad upon others; and thus give the most joyful evidence that the coming of the Lord to reign over the nations is near, even at the door."

At an early period of the meeting a committee, of whom Mr. Evarts was one, was appointed to consider the subject of the increase of funds and the enlargement of operations. On Saturday they reported a series of resolutions, recognizing gratefully the success of the enterprise and the state of the public mind, as calling for enlarged operations, and recommending an appeal, especially to the more wealthy friends of missions, for more liberal aid. When the Board was about to enter upon the consideration of this report, a member remarked that this was one of the most important subjects that ever engaged the attention of a deliberative assembly, and suggested that special prayer be made for the blessing of God upon the Board in the approaching discussion. Prayer was offered, and the discussion resumed.

A plan was suggested by friends of the Board, for raising an extra subscription of $100,000; which was urged at a special meeting, by thrilling appeals from Mr. Josiah Bissell of Rochester, Rev. Drs. Beecher and McAuley, Rev. Jonas King, and others. The result was an unprecedented subscription on the spot—two subscriptions of $5,000 each, annually, for five years; six others of $1,000; a pledge by an individual of $10,000, for himself and friends; the whole amount being $25,675; $20,675 of which was in annual subscriptions for five years, making $108,375, mostly, however, on the condition that the subscription should be raised to $100,000 within twelve months. Mr. Evarts sympathised with the prevailing feeling, and rejoiced, but with trembling. "I have just returned," he wrote to the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, "from the annual meeting of the Board at New York, which, on several accounts, was the most interesting meeting I ever attended, but particularly, as it furnished abundant proof that the missionary spirit is rising, and that there will be no want of funds for the support of missions, provided the

Lord gives wisdom to the directors of missions to select suitable missionaries, and gives success to their labors. The confidence in our Committee and our Board is so great that it makes me tremble for our responsibility; and I earnestly exhort you all to strive, equally and constantly, for high moral and spiritual attainments. Avoid all jealousy, ambition, indolence, unprofitable use of time, useless disputes with opposers. Be cautious not to forget for a day how much depends upon your united counsels. Preserve your health as far as possible, consistently with the discharge of plain duties. Remember that it is not for the Sandwich Islands alone that you live and labor, but for the whole heathen world, on which your example and influence will be brought to bear, and which must be affected by what you do. If God should see fit to give you in a high degree persevering Christian virtue, great practical wisdom, and glorious success, you are a beacon to the whole world, and your light will especially beam upon the western coast of North and South America. Your mission has been hitherto successful in a manner nearly or quite unexampled, (let God have the glory,) and I am far from expressing distrust for the future; but you and we must feel that we *have not yet attained*, and that we are to press forward."

Thus originated a great extra effort, as it was called. It was not successful, in securing for the Board the specified sum in the proposed way: and the effect upon many minds was doubtless unfavorable. The view taken of it by Mr. Evarts is partly indicated in his letter to Mr. Bissell, on a preceding page. They are more fully expressed in the following letters to the chairman of the New York committee; and it is believed that the results (aside from the raising of the specific sum) have very much corresponded with his expectations.

TO E. LORD, ESQ.

Boston, November 30, 1827.

"You will excuse me for suggesting (though I doubt not your Committee are of the same opinion) that this special effort should be confined to the wealthy and the prosperous, to those who are able to engage a handsome donation. In this way only can you avoid interfering with the general plan of contributing through the associations; and I think, in all your movements you should guard against misapprehension on this point, by having it clearly stated that this effort, made by friends of the Board for the accomplishment of a great object, is not designed to hinder, to supersede, or in any way to interfere with, the plan of a general organization of the friends of missions in all parts of the country, and of all classes of persons. On the other hand, those who manifest peculiar liberality in this extra effort, should take good care to strengthen the associations by making the payments through these channels; or if that should not be thought best, by subscribing a distinct sum as members of the associations.

"Go on and prosper, dear brethren, and expect to see greater things in the world, than have yet presented themselves to our eyes."

TO E. LORD, ESQ.

Boston, December 15, 1827.

"Your letter of the 12th came to hand this morning, and being desirous that you should have an answer by return of mail, I must write briefly, and without consulting my associates.

"You will easily perceive that the Prudential Committee are placed in a delicate situation respecting the extra efforts now making under the auspices of the Committee of which you are chairman. In order to make this business plain, I will give a short history of the origin and progress of this effort.

"Mr. Bissell proposed the *half million plan*, as he called it, early last summer. I wrote to him that I thought he calculated too sanguinely; but that we had long contemplated an effort to be made with rich Christians, by which they should be induced to engage large sums annually, as long as they should live; that such sums should separately support a missionary or some distinct missionary labor, had been long in Mr. Fisk's mind, and we hoped for his aid in accomplishing such an effort, if he had lived to return to this country. Before the meeting of the Board, Mr. Bissell had seen several of the members, and had given them a pretty favorable impression in regard to the practicability of his plan.

When I first saw him, which was on my arrival in New York, October 1st, I told him his great error in calculation was this: he went upon the assumption that every city and town could be made to act in these matters like Rochester, in proportion to the numbers of professed Christians; without considering that every place has not such a man as himself, and that people throughout our land have not been in such a course of training, as the people of Rochester have.

"When his proposal came before the Board, you recollect that it was the opinion of all, that we, *as a Board*, could not bring it before the public; that our numerous pledges forbade it; and that our general plan of organization was more important than any particular measure. With this decision, which appeared to be unanimous, Mr. Bissell was entirely satisfied."

TO E. LORD, ESQ.

Boston, December 15, 1827.

"Though I have sent to the post-office two letters to-day, on the subject of your *extra effort*, and in answer to your favor of the 12th, there are some topics on which I have as yet said nothing directly.

"As to the importance of the *five years subscription* being entirely successful, I see clearly that such an event would be extremely happy in its results, both as it respects this country and Europe; and I should deeply regret a disappointment in this respect. I cannot agree with you, however, that, unless the plan should be entirely successful, it would have been better that no *extra effort* should have been made. Unless I have been under a mistake, much good has been done already in various ways, by attracting attention to the subject of missions; by shewing men of the world that the friends of Christ can do liberal things for his cause; by raising the standard of Christian liberality, and by convincing people practically that it does not hurt them to part with their property for good objects. Indeed, your own observations on the good that is done by getting men personally interested, as large subscribers, are in perfect coincidence with my views on the subject. The good thus done will be in proportion to the number of individuals interested, whether that number shall be as great as we could wish or not.

"You remark that, personally, you were not sanguine as to the expediency of attempting the thing in the form and for the amount that was decided upon, but yielded to those who had money to give, or who felt strong confidence as to the disposition of those who possess wealth. This was my own state of mind, and I think, the state of mind of many other members of the Board. But I felt deeply impressed with the awe and reverence which were due to the extraordinary leadings of Providence as manifested in the long cherished plan of Mr. Bissell; his extraordinary success in previous efforts; the high character of devotedness in his conduct and principles; the presence and most gratifying statement of Mr. King; the corroborating statement of Dr. Spring, who had been in France; the lively and earnest support of others of the New York clergy; the evident presence of the Holy Spirit in the deliberations of the Board, that ever blessed and most beneficent Agent in the glorious work of man's redemption, whose kindly influences should always be spoken of with gratitude and praise; the uncommon liberality which appeared ready to burst forth on the first impulse. All these things led me to think that it was safer to stand still and see what Providence would do, than to quench the holy ardor of the occasion by what would have been deemed cold and timid calculations. And since the meeting of the Board, the success at Albany and Troy has been such, as, though not equal to Mr. Bissell's anticipation, should greatly encourage you and us."

Mr. Evarts, it will be seen, felt strongly that the effort demanded of those to whom the appeal was made, no more than was reasonable, and that such movement of the public mind was right and proper. His own standard of Christian duty in regard to missions had been long since formed, and here he saw with gratitude and joy an approach to it by greater numbers of people, and with greater rapidity, than ever before. His heart was animated by the fact. He felt more deeply the responsibilities of his own position, and was excited to extraordinary diligence, that he might not fail to discharge, in a manner acceptable to God, the duties that pressed upon him. Thinking it "conducive to fidelity and industry," he resumed, on the 1st of December, a brief journal of his daily labors. The spirit that had been awakened, he strove to keep alive and diffuse. This is seen in all his correspondence, and it breathes earnestly in some papers prepared for the Missionary Herald.

> "For several years past," was his language, "the number of individuals has been increasing, who have deeply felt, and strongly expressed, their sense of the obligation resting upon our Christian community, to enter with great energy into the fields now open for missionary labor. The conviction that the friends of missions in America are called upon to take a vigorous part in the glorious enterprise of sending the Gospel into all the world, is firmly established in the minds of many. Nor does the matter rest in a mere conviction of the understanding. A rapid advance has taken place in the willingness to make pecuniary sacrifices for this object. It can now be truly said, that persons of both sexes are to be found, in city and country, who esteem it a privilege to bring large contributions in aid of this work of the Lord.
>
> "A strong desire has been manifested within the last few months, that the operations of the Board of Foreign Missions should be immediately and greatly extended; and that, as a preparatory measure, a corresponding increase of pecuniary means should be secured. An enlarged liberality, disdaining the limits of previous examples, seemed ready to burst forth, whenever a distinct call should be made for it, with reference to specific plans of evangelical effort. At the late annual meeting of the Board, such plans were proposed; and the immediate effect was an unparalleled subscription, the details of which appeared in our last number. When the intelligence of this spontaneous effort went abroad, it was heard with joy and thanksgiving by multitudes, and was made the signal for new and extraordinary exertions through the land.
>
> "Such have been the indications of Providence in regard to this subject, that the Committee feel authorized to believe that a *new era has dawned upon the American churches*; and that the time has arrived, when such a number of wealthy and prosperous disciples of Christ will come forward with their liberal offerings unsolicited, as shall attract the attention and gain the co-operation of their brethren in less affluent circumstances; and thus, unless the signs of the times are mistaken, there will hereafter be no delay for want of money, to send into any inviting field such well qualified laborers as God shall furnish and endow with the requisite spirit and zeal.
>
> "This state of things imposes very solemn duties upon the Committee, both in regard to selecting new stations, and appointing missionaries and assistants to occupy them."

> "Looking to Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, and considering the peculiar duties and obligations of the age, the Committee feel prepared to say that no man who possesses suitable qualifications to go forth as a preacher of the Gospel to the heathen, need hesitate a moment lest his services should not be needed. Every such man is bound solemnly to consider in what place it is the pleasure of the Lord that he should live and labor; and, should he feel moved to offer himself for the missionary work, he will next make the matter a subject of prayer and of solemn consultation with judicious Christian friends who are well acquainted with his character."

It was not, however, this subject alone that occupied his time. As was always the case when at home, he was active in every duty of his position as a member and officer of Park Street Church, and as one in whose judgment and activity the orthodox Christians of Boston very much confided in regard to every common movement. And at this period, the state of things was so interesting and peculiar as to make large demands upon his time.

There had appeared, too, in London, a book relating to the Sandwich Islands,* and a review of it in the London Quarterly, containing gross misrepresentations and slanders in regard to our mission there. Appearing with such external marks of authority, and being put forth with an air of confidence, these representations were well calculated to make an impression upon such as were neither particularly acquainted with the facts in this case, nor interested in the cause of missions generally. Happily, Mr. Evarts had at command the most ample materials for an answer, which he wrought into a lively and effective article for the North American Review. Never were slanders more triumphantly refuted, or the shallow arts of accusing ignorance and malice more thoroughly exposed.†

Thus ended the year 1827.

---

* Voyage of his Majesty's Ship Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the years 1824–5. Capt. the Rt. Hon. Lord Byron, commander; London, 1826. 4to. The volume was a bookseller's speculation, prepared by another and unfriendly hand, from certain papers obtained from the chaplain of the Blonde.

† See North American Review, No. LVIII, January 1828, pp. 59—126. The article was also published in a separate pamphlet, with a brief but caustic postscript, containing additional damnatory facts relating to the publishers of the slander.

At the commencement of the year 1828, Mr. Evarts was deeply interested in the progress of truth in his own neighborhood. Several new orthodox churches had been recently formed in Boston, and houses of worship erected for their accommodation; in all which he took an active part, devising plans, harmonizing interests, and contributing liberally towards the necessary expenses. Another measure deemed necessary at this juncture, for the defence and advancement of the truth, was the establishment of a new religious magazine. Since the discontinuance of the Panoplist in 1820, the orthodox community in Massachusetts had possessed no journal of the kind; and it was felt that, the controversies of the times having assumed new aspects, the friends of evangelical truth ought again to appear in the field of active public discussion. In all the consultations and preliminary arrangements that led to the establishment of *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, Mr. Evarts took a leading part, and the delicate office of preparing the introductory article was assigned to him.

Of his labors in regard to such movements, no adequate record exists, and among his own papers, the slightest possible reference to them, or none at all. But it will long be remembered how the hearts of those who loved Zion were smitten, when he was removed from these councils, feeling that they had lost one who was unsurpassed in any quality that can render a wise man's counsels or a good man's influence valuable, and who "showed as little liability to mistake as can be expected of any man in this state of imperfection." *

Looking forward, in consequence of the existing state of the public mind, to enlarged missionary operations, he did all in his power to render the movement a safe and effectual one—to guard it from dangers and facilitate its action. For this purpose, among other things, he prepared with great care, suggestions to candidates for employment as missionaries, and to their friends, which appeared in the Herald for January. In pursuance of our purpose to exhibit in his own language, as far as practicable, his views on important questions connected with the cause, the substance of this paper is here inserted:

---

* Sermon on the death of Mr. Evarts, by Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D.

"Without further introduction, the following remarks are submitted to the consideration of such readers as contemplate entering upon a missionary life. It may fairly be assumed, that, among the younger members of evangelical churches throughout our land, the number of such readers is by no means small; and, as the spirit of Christian benevolence rises, and the demand for missionary labor becomes more imperious, it may be expected that this number will be continually increasing.

"1. Let those who think of personally going forth to the heathen as heralds of divine mercy, sit down and deliberately *count the cost.* There is some danger lest, in the glow of youthful feeling, and under the stimulus of crowded assemblies, and eloquent addresses, and examples of liberality, the cause of missions should be regarded only in the light of a glorious and triumphant cause; and not as an arduous conflict, a long continued struggle, a controversy with principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places. But it is a different thing to spend one's strength among ignorant idolaters, or rude savages, from what it is to read accounts of missionary labors, or to form in imagination a picture of a vigorous and successful onset against the powers of darkness. There is no safe course for a missionary, but to expect many trials; some of them unforeseen and unthought of, and others different in reality from what they were in contemplation. If faithful and devoted, he will also experience many consolations; and not the least of which will be the sustaining consciousness that he is influenced by the benevolence of the Gospel;—the same principle, which appeared with such transcendent loveliness in the character of our Saviour, and which was exhibited to so happy an extent, and in so remarkable a manner, by the great apostle to the Gentiles. He will be in the habit of reflecting, also, that the object is worthy of infinitely greater sacrifices than he can have made to it; and that, however discouraging appearances may be, the ultimate consequences of fidelity will be unspeakably delightful and glorious.

"2. It is very important that those who are looking forward to the responsible station of missionaries, should be thoroughly acquainted with their own character. There is more need of caution here, as men are apt to be ignorant of themselves; and especially is it true that young persons, during the progress of their education, often greatly misjudge as to their relative standing, and their prevailing motives of action. The real character of a man is, however, very likely to develope itself suddenly, when he is thrown into difficult and untried circumstances. Let the candidate for missionary employment, then, make it a particular study to ascertain how he stands in the sight of God. For this let him labor with much assiduity; not merely to gain satisfaction as to his having repented of sin and believed in Christ, but to learn whether he has that love for the souls of men, that devotedness, that zeal, that patience in trouble, that readiness for kind and brotherly co-operation, which are essential to an elevated course of Christian beneficence. To aid himself in this matter, let him apply to some pious friend, who can judge impartially, and who will become a candid and faithful adviser. It will be of incalculable benefit to a missionary to have made great progress in moral discipline;—in subduing pride, selfishness, vanity, ambition, and habits of indulgence, before he takes upon him a public character. To all these evils, and many others the heart of man is exposed; and it is not the part of wisdom to deny the danger, or attempt to conceal it. In the business of self-government, those are the most successful who have the most thorough knowledge of their weakness, their exposures, and their dangers.

"3. The missionary enterprise has now arrived at such a stage in its progress, that the soldiers of the cross have special need of being well furnished with the Gospel armor. The evangelical exertions which are now distinctly and avowedly directed to the moral renovation of the world, are fast attracting the attention of all observing and reflecting men; and are regarded with very different views by various classes of individuals, according to their feelings, their prejudices, and the part which they are personally disposed to take, either in favor of divine truth, or against it.

"The friends and supporters of missions entertain high hopes of success, as they have good reason for doing; but these hopes being somewhat indefinite, in regard to time, manner, and circumstances, often lead to sanguine conclusions. These friends, also, very generally form an exalted opinion of the moral excellence of missionaries; and the mere fact, that a man offers to go forth in this capacity, is a passport to their unbounded confidence. Such a state of things should operate powerfully upon the mind of an ingenuous man; and should induce him to aim strenuously to prove worthy of that confidence which is so liberally bestowed upon him in advance.

"The enemies of Christ were probably never more on the alert than at this moment, to discover flaws in the character of his professed friends, and to publish them abroad, with a view to bring reproach and disgrace upon all that is doing to extend the limits of the church. These enemies are more or less open in their hostility, according to circumstances; but they all agree in opposing the progress of truth. They are to be found in every Christian country, and have access to almost every considerable missionary station. Some of them are becoming much alarmed, and habitually discover great malignity. Let every missionary expect to be watched by such men; let him make this anticipated scrutiny a reason for examining and judging himself; and let him take special care, that those *who are of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of him;* or, if they are beyond the reach of shame, and will not be silent, let them be compelled to rely upon mere slander, which can either be refuted, or left to destroy itself.

"It is always to be remembered, that an example of Christian integrity, benevolence, and piety, will commend itself to the consciences of even the most bitter opposers; while others, who are not committed by any acts of direct hostility to the truth, will not be backward in avowing their convictions, and bearing a decided testimony to a life of consistent evangelical virtue. Progress in holiness is to be desired by a missionary, as a mean of usefulness to all around him, while it is a source of unfailing satisfaction to himself.

"4. The man who has deliberately consecrated himself to the service of Christ among the heathen, should not be solicitous respecting subordinate matters. He should cheerfully leave to Providence the precise field of his labor, the time and manner of his going forth, and other things of a similar nature. Not that he should act without consideration in relation to any subject, however small;—nor that he should fail to communicate any facts, views, or reasonings, which have weight in his own mind;—but he should carefully avoid distressing anxiety about the future, and cheerfully commit himself and all his interests to God. Nothing is more common, than for young men who are about closing the term of their education, to feel as though it would be extremely desirable to have the tenor of their future years marked out *with certainty*; not reflecting that, even if their lives were secure for years to come, such certainty would be unattainable by human power or foresight. It cannot be attained in regard to any class of men, much less professional men, who remain in our own country. The most mature plans are often interrupted; and the only wise and safe course, at home or abroad, is to prepare for usefulness in some important sphere, and then leave every future allotment to be disclosed in the ordinary course of Providence.

"5. The man who contemplates entering upon a missionary life, should habitually rely upon the promise and the favor of God, as the only ground of confidence, with reference to the great work of converting the nations. No combination of human talents, no multiplication of human labors can ever succeed, unless God accompany these labors by the energy of the Holy Spirit. Though the means used for enlightening and reforming and saving men are wisely fitted, under the Gospel dispensation, to accomplish these glorious ends, yet they will all fail, unless they are followed by a special blessing from on high. The external preparations for spreading the Gospel, though increased a hundred fold beyond their present amount, should not withdraw our attention for a moment from the Great Source of spiritual life, without whose kindly influence nothing of importance will be done for the permanent melioration of the human race. The hopes of the Christian world, while they rest on the declared purpose of the Most High, are called into lively exercise by events which are continually transpiring; and it seems hardly possible to avoid the conclusion, that He who has excited his people to strenuous efforts, and united, importunate, and persevering prayer, will impart that divine energy, without which every thing else will be unavailing.

"As the number of missionaries is increasing, and will increase still more rapidly, a large portion of our clergymen, and numerous lay members of our churches, will be called upon for their advice to individuals who think of missionary service, and for their testimonials to the character of such as may be deemed suitable candidates for that high employment. The business of selecting and sending forth spiritual laborers is exceedingly responsible; and should be discharged with a deep feeling of the magnitude of the interests depending. Private friendships, personal attachments, and the strong desires of the intended missionary, should never induce to the recommendation of any person, who is not deliberately judged to be fit for the sacred vocation to which he aspires. It need not be said, that all good men are not equally qualified for usefulness; nor that a man who will be useful in some one place, may not have the requisite qualifications to be useful in all other places. It seems proper therefore, to call the attention of clergymen and others to some prominent traits of character, which should be found in all who are sent forth to the heathen, either as ordained missionaries, or as assistants in any department of the work.

"And first, as a general qualification, it is extremely desirable that each missionary should have acquired such a character in the religious circles where he is known, as shall call forth the spontaneous approbation of his acquaintances, when his purpose is first announced. This prompt and general attestation to the consistency of his conduct with his professions, and to his possessing the great elements of the Christian character, is one of the best evidences of fitness for the work, so far as these evidences fall under human cognizance. It is very gratifying to the Committee to be informed respecting any individual recommended to them, that he is such a man as will do good any where; that his offering himself for the service is unanimously approved by those who know him; and that his friends will expect to hear good things from him, into whatever part of the vineyard he may be sent. The Committee would not intimate that such a reputation for general excellence is indispensable; but it is certainly desirable, and should be considered as attainable by all, who, with singleness of heart, and respectable intellectual powers, devote themselves to the promotion of the glory of God.

"Besides being able to express an opinion of a candidate's general fitness for the work, those who give testimonials should look distinctly at several important traits of character. Here the Committee would observe that missionaries, who have been some time in the field, are scrupulous beyond all others, in regard to the qualifications of those who shall be sent forth to them as fellow laborers. They confess and lament their own deficiencies, while they would do all in their power to raise the standard of missionary excellence. Their correspondence bears frequent testimony to their earnestness on this subject. In some instances, they have consulted together, and drawn out an elaborate description of such a character as they have thought candidates should possess. At a missionary meeting in the western wilderness, a paper of this kind was composed, from which the following particulars are taken. They were intended to apply to missionaries who shall go to the Indians beyond the Mississippi, but are applicable, with small variations, to others.

" 'In addition to vital piety, competent literary acquirements, a thorough knowledge of the Bible and of theology, such missionaries should have,

" '1. *An enterprising turn of mind;* a spirit that will support a man while he travels without company, sleeps without shelter, and is sick without attendants; a spirit that will sustain hardship of every description without repining.

" '2. *An amiable temper.* The countenance of a missionary should indicate a pleasant and cheerful state of mind, and should be to him, wherever he goes, his letter of recommendation.

" '3. *Promptness in argument.* Indians are sagacious in discerning character, shrewd in their cavils against true religion, and ever ready to hold in derision such as appear weaker or less wise than themselves; while they respect those whom they consider their superiors.

" '4. *Equanimity* is an essential qualification of the western missionary. He must pass through all his difficulties with a firm, unshaken resolution. He should be *steadfast, unmovable,* always mild, always affectionate, but always decided.

" '5. *Punctuality to his engagements.*

" '6. *Skill in the particular business assigned him.* No novices should be sent out. A great degree of ardor and self-denial, though it may entitle a man to compassion, will but poorly compensate for the losses and disappointments sustained by the mission, in consequence of his inexperience and want of skill.

" '7. *A good bodily constitution.*'

" It will be observed, that the sixth particular has reference to assistant missionaries, who are employed as teachers, farmers, and mechanics.

" The Committee would add, that missionaries of all classes, and both sexes, should have a well established character for,

" 8. *Habitual industry.* It is not sufficient that a man should be capable of vigorous activity either of mind or body, as the case may be, but he should have been in habits of continued employment, and should be uneasy, and out of his element, unless *actually* employed.

" 9. *Habitual carefulness.* This trait of character should have respect to every part of duty. The missionary should be careful of property, of his health, of his words, of the measures he recommends, the examples he sets, and of all his means and opportunities of usefulness.

" 10. *Humility,* embracing, besides what is usually understood by that term, a willingness to labor on a small scale, and for the benefit of a few immortal beings, when a larger sphere is not accessible. In fixing on a field of labor, the number of souls to be benefitted is always an important consideration; but it sometimes happens that a missionary, even in a populous country, can get but a few hearers. There are many causes which may circumscribe his direct influence within narrow limits. In such a state of things, he should consider how great an object it is to bring one soul to heaven, and what inconceivable good may result from his forming his own character to a happy resemblance of his Saviour.

"It not unfrequently happens that persons apparently pious are encumbered with serious disqualifications for missionary services; which, however, they may not regard in this light, or perhaps may not be conscious of them at all. A few of these disqualifications will be mentioned.

"1. *A disposition to change.* There are some persons who are very confident they could do a great deal of good, if they were in certain imaginable circumstances. They are frequently changing their condition, with a view to arrive at a state so desirable. They always see many reasons for new changes, and thus life wears away, while they are preparing to employ it well. Sometimes, beyond a doubt, this love of change is a principal cause which first prompts the desire of going on a mission.

"2. *A strong tendency to depression of spirits.* No man needs the buoyancy of a cheerful, elastic state of mind more than a missionary. He should be grave and serious; but in his temperament hope and joy should predominate.

"3. *Jealousy.* When an individual is known to suffer from this evil, he should be advised to remain in the bosom of a Christian community. Jealousy may have respect to many subjects; but, in a missionary, it naturally fixes upon the relative standing of his brethren, the estimation in which he is himself held, and the supposed motives of those who have had any agency in assigning his duties.

"4. *A habit of inconsiderate talking.* Rash and idle words are very inconvenient things in a missionary circle. In a large society men are very apt to find their level, and a talkative man is duly estimated; but in a small band of brethren, shut out from the world, it is not easy to restrain an ungovernable tongue.

"5. *Incapacity to judge of human character.* This deficiency is sometimes called ignorance of the world, and sometimes a want of common sense. It is occasionally found in persons who have all their lives had intercourse with men; while, on the other hand, many whose observation has been confined to their native village, are rarely deceived in their estimation of men and things.

"6. *Levity.* No person can gain the respect and confidence of uncivilized men, especially of our western Indians, if given to lightness of mind; and the example of levity is extremely unprofitable to a mission family.

"The present indications of Providence are such as to warrant the confidence, that pecuniary means will be furnished by American Christians, adequate to sending forth to the heathen as many qualified preachers of the Gospel as can be found ready to enter upon the service. Old fields of labor are extending, new ones are opening, and millions of immortal beings are waiting to hear the message of salvation. The Committee feel as though they are abundantly supported by the wishes, and pledges, and expectations of their Christian brethren, in declaring that no man who aspires to this high and holy office, need hesitate lest he should not find a place for labor among the heathen, or the means of getting access to them. Unless all the signs of the times are misinterpreted, it may also be taken for granted, that may suitable laborers for every department of the work will be selected from the American churches; and that our happy country, greatly favored of heaven in temporal and spiritual privileges, will be honored as an almoner of the divine bounty to pagan nations.

"Let every pious young man, especially if preparing for the ministry, seriously inquire what *the Lord would have him to do*, in reference to this subject. Let him ask the advice of his Christian friends, and get their aid in forming a judgment of his character. If he doubts as to his qualifications, let him aim to become qualified.

"Ministers and private Christians should feel themselves called upon to search for suitable men, whom they would confide in as the messengers of the churches. There may be some, perhaps many, who, from too low an estimate of themselves, do not think of missionary employment; but who might still be eminently useful. Possibly they need but the inspiring voice of a judicious adviser, to kindle the latent spark of missionary zeal into a flame.

"Besides ordained missionaries and agents, the missions now under the care of the Board, and others to be formed, will need the services of a considerable number of teachers of youth, who should be men and women of active minds, industrious habits, and an enterprising character. Some of them should possess qualifications greatly superior to what are deemed requisite in teachers of common schools; and several of this description, and of both sexes, are urgently needed at the present time. Is not our country able to furnish them? Should not every eye be wakeful till they are found and sent forth?

"The Committee must look to their Christian brethren to share with them the responsibility of selecting and sending forth spiritual laborers. It is a matter of common concern. The interests of the church are deeply involved in it. Missionaries, though self-moved, (or rather moved by love to the souls of men,) are not self-appointed. It is not meet that they should be. It would not be according to the usage of the primitive church.

"To conclude, let the whole body of the faithful importunately pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into his harvest;—men whose service he will bless, whose character he will protect, and whose fidelity he will graciously recompense with his decisive benediction at the final day."

The intended visit of Mr. Evarts to the Indian missions this year was prevented by the urgency of other engagements, and one of his associates took his place in that service. "I have repeatedly informed you," he said in a letter to Rev. C. Kingsbury, January 18, "that my journey was prevented by the exigencies of our affairs at home. I have to-day written a few lines to Mr. L. S. Williams. I do not know but some of my words may give him pain. If so, you must comfort him, that he may not have sorrow upon sorrow. The fact is, I feel exceedingly distressed in regard to Indian missions, and my distress and anxiety are continually increasing. I hope affairs may be so ordered, that Mr. Williams will stay at the place where he is now stationed, and that he will gain access to the people, and do them good.

"You have probably received from Mr. Varnum the various documents on Indian subjects, which have been recently printed by Congress. It will be more and more difficult for Indians to live in the old States; in Georgia, for instance; and whether they can find any resting-place upon this continent, remains to be seen. The great obstacle to their improvement is the depravity of the heart. If they would all receive the gospel, renounce all wickedness, become industrious and exemplary, they would be safe, notwithstanding all the cupidity and injustice of the whites. If, on the other hand, the whites were entirely and only benevolent; if they loved their neighbors as themselves, and were willing to labor hard and wait patiently for the reformation of their red neighbors, the Indians would then have a chance for themselves; and even if they rose very slowly, they might still rise at last. But with the prevailing depravity of both classes, I see no hope, unless it shall please God to pour out his Spirit in a remarkable manner. Here the matter must rest; and unless our missions shall be so far honored as to introduce the gospel in its power more rapidly than hitherto, I see not but the object must fail.

"Present my kind regards to Col. Folsom.* I pray that he may give his heart to the Lord, and be made an instrument of great good to his people. I did hope to have seen him and you this winter, and to consult and pray together more solemnly than at any former time. But the matter was otherwise ordered."

Before the end of February, he was again on his way to Washington.

---

* An intelligent Chief of the Choctaw nation.

TO REV. R. ANDERSON.

Philadelphia, March 1, 1828.

"I spent the greater part of Thursday evening at Mr. Lord's, in conversation upon the *Extra Effort* plan. He thinks it extremely important that this plan should succeed, and that the Prudential Committee would act wisely to bend their efforts very much to this object. He sees very clearly that the impulse given in New York has produced great results. To this impulse can be traced most directly the Bible exertions in Pennsylvania, and missionary exertions in New Jersey; from both of which incalculable good will proceed. And he thinks that, if the original plan should be carried into effect, it would propagate an impulse much farther than can now be imagined; whereas, if it fails, he supposes that the subscribers will generally decline paying, except for the first year; that they will be somewhat disgusted; and that they will divert their energies hereafter into another channel.

"For my part, I have no doubt that a great advantage would be gained, if the $100,000 were filled. This might be done, perhaps, if we had ten such agents as Mr. King and ten such as Mr. Bissell. But when we consider that about five months have elapsed, and not more than $8,000 or $10,000 have been added to the subscription of the first evening, it must appear a very difficult thing, with the means at our disposal, even to get the sum up to $50,000. Mr. Lord seemed to suppose that our Committee, by making a serious effort, could do much, if they were not able to accomplish the whole. One thing we must do; and that is, write a suitable letter to members of the Board and honorary members, with a view to their exertions in the six months to come."

In fact, Mr. Evarts found reason to apprehend unfavorable results from the Extra Effort upon the ordinary sources of income; and exerted himself to prevent it. "The great desideratum everywhere is," he remarks, "a sufficient number of men and women who lay the matter to heart, and will spend time to bring the subject of missions before all the people. There is no great use in foretelling evil, at least, in many cases; but I shall not be surprised, if there is a great deficiency in the ordinary subscriptions of the city of New York. I suggested the employment of a suitable agent, or agents, to visit the several associations and to call upon individuals."

TO REV. R. ANDERSON.

Philadelphia, March 3, 1828.

"On Saturday, I wrote an account of my interview with Mr. Lord; and concluded, I think, with expressing an opinion that we could hardly hope to get the extra subscription up to $50,000. Yet I am far from thinking it best to stop soliciting for that object. If, at the close of the year, but half the original sum should be obtained, it is quite probable that the subscribers would continue the time for receiving subscriptions, or consent to its extension, if there was a probability that it could be carried further with encouraging prospects. There are many towns in our country, where from $500 to $1000 could be obtained by the united labors of Mr. King and Mr. Kirk, or Mr. Bissell and Mr. Whiting. We must admit, however, that there will be danger of a great ebb, where a flood may have been raised by a violent wind; or, in plainer language, those individuals who are induced to subscribe by a sudden movement and strong pressure, will be very likely to regret what they have done, and to fall into a complaining habit, which will predispose them to find fault with the Board and its missionaries. In this way, one man in a populous town may greatly embarrass missionary operations hereafter. Though I have no doubt that God is about to accomplish much by Mr. Bissell's $100,000 movement, yet by some of its consequences we may experience much trouble. Let us avoid as much of it as we can by the exercise of all our prudence, and patiently take the rest; expecting that every measure which we adopt will be liable to inconveniencies.

"The most difficult part of this business is, to know what to say concerning it in the Missionary Herald. I think I shall write something for the April number."

TO REV. R. ANDERSON.

Washington, D. C., March 11, 1828.

"We had in our coach [from Baltimore] two Quaker men and two women; one of them, as I afterwards ascertained, was Mrs. Elizabeth Robson, from England, a famous female preacher. We had also a man by the name of ———, from Buffalo, who took occasion to speak against missionaries, in very severe and violent terms. He knew all about them—and all about the Indians, &c. Before the missionaries went among them, the Indians were the most virtuous and honest set of men in the world; now they were vicious and miserable.

"I felt it to be my duty to silence his battery, which was easily done. I discoursed a while on Major Long's account of the Indians—then on the accounts of the missionaries—urging that no missionary, so far as my knowledge extended, had been proved mistaken in regard to facts which tended to develope the Indian character.

"He then went upon Mr. ———, and the treatment which he had received from the other missionaries. I regretted the case of Mr. ———; and added that I was not aware that *he* had made erroneous statements as to the Indian character and condition.

"My opponent now shifted his ground. He knew Mr. Harris very well, and Mr. Harris was a very good man. The missionaries were good men: the difficulties in regard to them were, that they thought nobody would be saved but themselves; they condemned other people; they had no charity. For his part, he had charity for all.

"I asked him what he had said just before, respecting the character of missionaries generally; and requested him to repeat it, as I thought the company would like to hear it again.

"This was an effectual damper. He afterwards became very obsequious. I yesterday met him in the street, and he was extremely polite, and wished to carry anything for me which I wish to send to Buffalo. I shall contrive to send something by him.

"The Quakers and an intelligent young gentleman from Philadelphia spoke to me privately afterwards on the ignorance and presumption of the man. He was, however, a fair specimen of the opposers of missions, and knew more than most of them.

"I was happy to learn from Mr. Post, that he had invited several members of Congress, who were professors of religion, to meet at his house every Thursday evening for religious conversation and prayer. Several such meetings had been held. Not more than three gentlemen, I believe had been together—though perhaps half a dozen in the whole have attended."

TO REV. R. ANDERSON.

Washington, D. C., March 11.

"Friday, March 7. After the call of Capt. Jones was over,* who should enter the room but David Brown. He told me that he had addressed me a letter, and of course you know that he is here. He probably stated in that letter that he is secretary of the Arkansas delegates, who are engaged in business respecting their limits, &c. I never saw him look better. The same pleasant smile plays on his countenance. He was very tastefully dressed, and his figure has rather gained in ease and gracefulness. He left the Arkansas country in the fall—Creekpath the last of January, and has been here a fortnight.

"P. M. Went to the Capitol at 4. Heard Mr. Randolph about an hour. The question was on Mr. Oakley's amendments to the appropriation for surveys, &c. You could not guess anything about the subject, however, from the speech. It was a curious exhibition of the vagaries to which the human mind is liable. Mr. Randolph has been greatly flattered of late, especially in regard to his last speech on Chilton's resolutions of which speech, as revised by himself with great care, the opposition members have distributed thirty thousand copies.

"Among the topics which I heard this afternoon from him, were the character of Hume as a historian,—the evils of gentility, or extravagant living,—the necessity of working hard and practising rigid economy—the evils of our paper money system—the character of two Virginia judges—one a drunkard, the other a bankrupt—analysis and criticism of one of Horace's odes, with a long quotation from it—comparison of Herodotus and Polybius as historians—quotation from one of his own speeches, delivered in 1808—account of his own fortune, management of his estate, and self-denial—tribute to hard-working men—description of his nearest neighbor in Virginia—and a recommendation to members of Congress to go home immediately. He had an exhortation to this effect: 'The man who is determined to be independent, will not make long faces, raise his eyes to heaven, and go canting and whining about, that he may become attached to some missionary society or colonization society.'

---

* Capt. Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, of the United States Navy, who had visited the Sandwich Islands a few months after Lieut. Percival, and whose conduct while there had been highly gratifying to the friends of missions, and honorable to himself and his country.

"Saturday, March 8. Soon after breakfast, went to Williamson's, where the Arkansas delegation are. Was there introduced to Graves, John Rogers, James Rogers, Black Fox, and George Guess. I believe there are some others belonging to the company. I may hereafter describe them all. In Guess I felt a peculiar interest. He is very modest in appearance, a man about fifty years old, dressed in the costume of the country—that is, a hunting-frock, pantaloons, moccasins, and a handkerchief tied around the head. The others were dressed as well, and appeared in every respect as well, as members of Congress generally. The Rogerses speak good English; but Graves, Black Fox, and Guess, spoke in Cherokee only. I asked Guess, by David as an interpreter, to tell me what induced him to form an alphabet, and how he proceeded in doing it?

"Guess replied, that he had observed that many things were found out by men, and known in the world; but that this knowledge escaped and was lost for want of some way to preserve it; that he had observed white people write things on paper, and he had seen books, and he knew that what was written down remained and was not forgotten; that he attempted, therefore, to fix certain marks for sounds; that he thought, if he could make things fast on the paper, it would be like catching a wild animal and taming it; that he found great difficulty in proceeding with his alphabet, as he forgot the sounds which he had assigned to marks; that he was much puzzled about a character for the hissing sound; (I suppose his meaning was, that he had much difficulty to ascertain whether *s* should be a separate syllable, and have a separate character or not;) that when this point was settled, he proceeded easily and rapidly; that his alphabet cost him a month's study; and that he afterwards made an alphabet for the pen; that is, for speedy writing; the characters of which he wrote under the corresponding characters of the other. The two alphabets have no great resemblance to each other.*

"Wednesday, 12. Yesterday read Mr. McLean's speech in the House of Representatives, and to-day Mr. Vinton's, on the emigration of the Indians. I am more and more in doubt respecting that measure; and have made up my mind to advise members against it, unless Congress first adopt a definite plan, and embody it in the form of a law, which would be a guaranty none too strong for the poor Indians.

"March 13. I called on Mr. Bates, and conversed with him long on the Indian subject—having made up my mind decisively, that Congress ought not to take any step towards the removal of the Indians, till they fix upon a definite plan of proceeding, and give all the pledges which can be afforded by a law that the plan shall be pursued. This they will not do the present session; and therefore I think they should make no appropriation to defray the expense of exploring.

"15. I thought it my duty to urge upon Mr. V., as I have upon other members, the impropriety of leading the Indians forward in the dark—of making to them vague promises of uncertain good, before a definite plan is fixed upon for their benefit,—a plan which has been thoroughly examined, and has received the deliberate sanction of all the branches of the Government.

---

* The alphabet of Guess, considering its origin, is one of the most remarkable achievements of the human mind. It appears that he began by attempting to make a character for every word. Finding that in this way his memory became overburdened with the number, he began to analyze the words, and to notice that the same character would answer for parts of many words. Every syllable in the Cherokee language is either a simple vowel sound, or a vowel preceded by a consonant. The vowel sounds are six; the consonants, simple and compound, twelve; the syllables resulting from their combination, seventy-two; by certain modifications of a few of these syllables, several others are formed, making eighty-five in all. For each, Guess formed a character; so that the alphabet consists of eighty-five letters, each representing a syllable,—just as the letters F I K C, rapidly pronounced, give the syllables of the word *efficacy*. Of course, when these characters are mastered, the pupil has learned to read; which is usually done in two or three days.

"March 21. The measures for the removal of the Indians will drag heavily in Congress; but the ignorance, perverseness, and vices of the Indians themselves, painful as the prospect is, must destroy them, all but a remnant. No doubt the injustice, rapacity, and hard-heartedness of the whites will bring them in for a share in the ruin. To judge differently would be to imitate the false prophet, who cried *Peace, peace, when there was no peace.* We must strive to make the remnant as large as we can."

TO REV. C. WASHBURN.

Washington, March 29, 1828.

"The time has nearly arrived for Mr. Kingsbury and Mr. Greene to leave the Choctaw nation; and before this comes to hand, I hope they will be with you; and I shall have them especially in view in what I now write.

"There are two classes of subjects to which we wish all your minds to be directed. 1. Those which relate to the immigration of the Indians west of the Mississippi. 2. Those which relate to the establishment of missions which shall be efficient, and which shall be conducted at a small expense.

"As to the removal of the Indians, we wish to receive a satisfactory answer to the following inquiries. Can any land be found, west of the Mississippi, beyond the limits of the States and territories, which will be satisfactory to the Indians? Will the Indians, after their removal, be more beyond the influence of the whites than they are now? Will not their white neighbors be worse men, and more lawless, than their present neighbors are? Must not their country be intersected by roads for the accommodation of whites, which would of course expose the natives to all sorts of contamination? Would not the Indians be depressed and dispirited by a strict supervision under white rulers?

"On the second head,—on the best method of conducting missions among the Indians:

"Our Committee have long been fixed in the conclusion, that more invention must be applied to bringing all the faculties of missionaries to bear upon the religious culture of the natives. By bringing all the faculties to bear, I mean, that there should be as little time spent upon temporals, as a proper regard to health and decency will permit. We think we must arrive at such a state of improvement that a small mission family, consisting of a missionary, his wife, and a few small children, will live comfortably on an allowance of from $150 to $250 a year, including every expense, except what is derived from a little farm and garden ; and that the missionary should have one half or two thirds of his time for spiritual labors.

"Should it be asked whether it would not be better economy to increase the allowance to from $300 to $500 ; and let the missionary apply *his whole time* to his appropriate work ?—I answer that, so far as our experience goes, we do not think there is *any way* of securing a missionary's whole time to spiritual labor. Certainly there is no way, if he lives alone. Money will not do it. Besides, two missionaries, devoting half their time vigorously and faithfully to spiritual labor, and the rest to the secular work of their station, would do more good than one missionary, devoting his whole time, were that practicable. As an inducement to economy in our Indian missions, let it be considered that less than $100 a year will enable a young man to obtain an education for the ministry ; that $50 a year will enable many a young man to go through college, who would not otherwise do it ; that $25 a year, in money, will keep a student in the Maryville Seminary ; that $100 a year will enable many congregations to settle ministers, where it would not otherwise be done, and where there are 500, 1,000, or 1,500 souls to be benefitted by his labors.

"I am aware that exhortations to economy sometimes appear to savor of a secular spirit. But, unless we are deceived, we urge to this duty from a regard to the souls of men. The money which is raised from the Christian public, is given from religious considerations. Half our time and care and anxiety at the Rooms is expended upon raising funds ; and we are at this moment more than $40,000 in debt. Ought we not to urge economy as an imperious religious duty ?

"May the Lord give us wisdom and fidelity, for his name's sake."

Mr. Evarts remained in Washington till the 10th of April. A principal object of this visit was to secure adequate protection for the mission to the Sandwich Islands, against such outrages as those of Capt. Percival, which have been already mentioned. It was a subject that required the exercise of great tact and judgment, in personal intercourse with official persons, and in the preparation of papers and other arrangements. It occupied much of his time during the year, and even into 1829. Although the result was not in all respects such as to meet his views of the demands of public justice, the leading object was fully accomplished.* The next year the United States Ship Vincennes was sent to the Islands,† to repair the mischief that had been done; and the friends of missions have since had no reason to complain of the treatment received by them, or by the native authorities, from the government of the United States or persons connected with our navy. As long as the result was doubtful, he continued to put forth every judicious effort to secure the punishment of the guilty, and to bring the facts before the public in their proper light, so far as decency would permit their publication. In this, as in all similar cases, he relied very much on public opinion, and the power of the press. Placing the missionaries and their friends before the community on the ground of justice, purity, and virtue, and as the friends of the ignorant and defenceless, he relied strongly on the righteous verdict of the people, and on the power of that verdict to afford adequate protection, even should law fail to accomplish its proper end, as a terror to evil doers. And he triumphed. This struggle it was that proved to the world, that even the islands of the Pacific were not beyond the reach of a righteous public opinion at home; and that he who would escape infamy in the United States and in England, must beware of infamous deeds at Honolulu, no less than in New York and in London.*

---

* Of this trial and the result, Mr. Evarts prepared an account for the Annual Report of 1828. "The court," he says, "occupied twenty-six days in examining witnesses and taking down their testimony. The Prudential Committee were allowed to be present, and to propose questions to witnesses, by an agent whom they employed as legal counsel for that purpose. They took full notes of the evidence, and copies of nearly all the depositions; the import and bearing of which, however, it is not thought proper to disclose at present.

"About the middle of June, the proceedings of the court were transmitted to the navy department; but what the decision was, and how far the proceedings are approved by the President, the Committee are not able to state, as nothing, so far as they know, has transpired on the subject. No agent having been sent to the Islands to authenticate written evidence, and the letters and statements of missionaries and others, however worthy of confidence, not being legally admissible, it could not be expected that a full developement could be made, at the distance of many thousand miles from the scene of these transactions.

"In the present state of the proceedings, it is not deemed expedient to intimate how much was proved under the several charges brought before the court, further than to say that enough appeared to justify the Committee and the Board for preferring and sustaining their complaints, and the government for making the investigation."

Though repeated inquiries were made of the government during the next year and a half, no definite answer was received. Neither the result of the investigation by the Court of Inquiry, nor the decision of the President upon it, has since been made public.

† Under the command of Captain William Bolton Finch, with Rev. C. S. Stewart, lately missionary at the Islands, and well known and esteemed by the chiefs, as chaplain, and bearing presents from the government, and all desirable official assurances of sympathy and countenance in every effort to promote civilization, good morals, and religion, among the people.

Not sure how soon the victory might be achieved, he sought to prepare those who acted with him to persevere to the end. To the missionaries at the Islands, he held the following language:

TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS MISSIONARIES.

Boston, July 28, 1828.

"This controversy with abandoned foreigners must be continued till it is brought to a happy close. We cannot retreat. Vicious men must feel at the Sandwich Islands, as well as here, that they cannot publicly violate the decencies of life without danger of exposure. In this way, and with a concurrent blessing of God upon your evangelical labors, public vice may be restrained; but it is contrary to all experience, that the Christian religion should gain a permanent influence over the mass of the people, if vice is shamelessly predominant in all the seaports and principal places. This struggle with vice at Honolulu and Lahaina, is really a struggle for the existence of your mission. I fully believe that the external character, at least, of the residents must be improved, or they must leave the Islands, or the missionaries will be deprived of all influence, and a most portentous cloud will overshadow them and their labors.

"It is not probable that any of the missionaries will lose their lives by the violence of opposers; but if they should be called to this trial, it ought to be met calmly, and even joyfully, in comparison to yielding to the unreasonable desires of wicked men. Indeed, I scarcely know any situation in which a good man would sooner die by violent hands, than the very one which the Sandwich Islands missionaries are called to occupy.

---

* Mr. Evarts took care to have the conduct of abandoned masters of British vessels at the Islands, properly represented in London.

"I would inculcate feelings of the most tender compassion towards the unhappy men who, notwithstanding divine truth, are hardening themselves in sin. Pray for them earnestly and affectionately, and admonish them kindly. Peradventure God may bring them to repentance and to obedience of the truth."

To his associates and the public at home he said:—

"Private scandal is not to be encouraged, and no unnecessary publicity should be given to secret sins; but when individuals come forth as the public champions of vice; when they insist on the privilege of openly trampling on laws made by natives for the promotion of the public morals; when they express a determination to pursue such a course as will tend to the utter subversion of religion, and to the ruin, temporal and eternal, of all who can be brought within the vortex of their criminal design and their base example; it is not only proper, but indispensable, that the real state of things should be exposed. There is no reason why it should not be fully understood at the Sandwich Islands, that the public conduct of foreigners, not only may be lawfully, but that it shall be effectually, made public in Great Britain and America, and consequently wherever civilized men are to be found. Such part of this public conduct as tends to the promotion of peace, industry, morality, knowledge, and true religion, will receive the hearty commendation of all men whose praise is of any value; and all that power of influence and example which tends to depress those who are beginning to rise, and to sink deeper in guilt and shame those who have never felt any moral restraints, will surely bring with it that *punishment inflicted by many*, that public reproach and odium, which even the most abandoned must perceive to be just, and which few indeed are so hardened as not to feel.

"At this age of the world, it is hardly to be supposed, whatever may be threatened, that a missionary will be murdered by his countrymen, or by others who speak the same language, merely because he has felt obliged, in the course of his duty, to publish unwelcome truths. If this should be the case, it would be a great calamity; and it would be lamented especially, on account of the guilt in which it would involve the perpetrators, and all who encouraged them, or inflamed their passions. But even such an event, however deplorable, might be overruled for the promotion of the missionary cause. It would attract the notice of Europe and America, as did the death of the missionary Smith; and it would compel investigations, on the part of public authorities, which could not but issue favorably. There is no alternative so bad, as that Satan and his adherents should be led to think that they are more powerful than the friends of God; and that whatever abominations may be committed, silence respecting them may be enforced upon missionaries, and missionary societies, and the Christian world."

In the course of the summer, the particulars of fresh outrages at the Islands were received; some of them occasioned by the publication, in this country, of letters from the missionaries, in which too much truth was told to suit the purposes of those who loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. In accordance with the convictions above expressed, Mr. Evarts did not fail to make the facts fully known, to the extent of his power, with appropriate comments. The conflict was ended. The missionaries of the Board, in whatever distant and obscure spot they might serve their Lord, were effectually brought under the protecting shield of public opinion and national honor. It is not probable that the missionaries, officers, and friends of the Board will ever again be called to endure the anguish and toil of that trying time. The exertions of Mr. Evarts, together with his sympathy for the sufferers and his anxiety for the results, combined with other causes to make these among the most laborious months of his life.*

---

* For a full account of the painful occurrences here alluded to, see the Missionary Herald and Report of the Board for 1827, 1828; and History of American Board, pp. 161—3; 174—8.

The question of the removal of the Indians, also, was daily coming to occupy more of his thoughts and time; and he endeavored, while at Washington, to prepare himself for any duty relating to it, that might devolve upon him. The alphabet of Guess had given a new and extraordinary impulse to education among the Cherokees, who were making rapid advances in all the arts of civilized life; and they were now living under a written constitution of government, and had a newspaper and numerous books, printed in their own language and their own alphabet. Thus every day they were appealing more strongly for sympathy and protection, while the threatening dangers gathered blackness in proportion.

After his return, Mr. Evarts did little more than to pass at home the busy season of the religious anniversaries, and attend to urgent and harassing official duties connected with the trial of Lieutenant Percival, when we find him again away on an excursion to Vermont, attending the meetings of auxiliaries, consulting with the friends of the cause and with candidates for missionary employment, and endeavoring to devise and put into operation measures that should secure the increased efficiency of the recently organized associations. Everywhere he saw the need of some active agency to keep the subject properly before the Christian public, and to secure the regular contributions even of those who called themselves friends of the cause. "Experience," he writes, "while it proves the present system by far the best that has been tried, makes it very evident that, with the immense majority of contributors, the whole business would fall absolutely dead without an inquiry, if they were left to their own movements. If the whole missionary cause were dead, they would probably express some very loud regrets; but as to any efforts to resuscitate it, they could not be expected from this class of friends. Indeed it cannot be denied, as one of the speakers at Pawlet suggested, 'that *very few* can be found who would not gladly be passed over by the collectors; or who, if not applied to, would of themselves seek the channel of communication, so that their money might be seasonably transmitted.' All this evinces a very imperfect state of things among Christians."

"July 4. Burlington. The two parties had separate celebrations. A great multitude was assembled; and there was much noise, drinking, and swearing. The injury done to public morals by the celebration of the Fourth of July is incalculable. Take the whole United States, and the amount of wickedness perpetrated on that day is frightful."

During this season, a Greek youth at Yale College, who was under his official guardianship, became implicated in a College difficulty. His kind and judicious letter on the occasion deserves a place here, for the sake of young men in like circumstances:

TO S. G., YALE COLLEGE.

Boston, August 6, 1828.

"I learn by a letter from Judge Baldwin, that you and your countryman became somewhat involved in the late difficulty among the students. Considering how universal the combination was among your classmates, it is not strange that you were carried away with it. But you must learn a lesson by this history, and not get into the same difficulty a second time.

"Combinations are always wrong. If any real grievance is experienced by students, it can be redressed by stating facts and making application in a respectful manner. Majorities of classes have no right to prescribe what all their fellow students shall do. The attempt is a flagrant violation of the rights of minorities. Every student should be left to act according to his own judgment, without reference to the wishes of others.

"There are none of the students who ought to avoid rash and hasty measures with more care and caution, than yourselves. You should remember that Greece is more exposed to the evils of anarchy, as resulting from violent party measures, than to all other evils combined.

"We hope the troops of Ibrahim will be soon removed; but, unless the people can learn to be deliberate, patient, and submissive to just authority, their liberty will avail them nothing. They will be a prey to endless dissensions, if they follow hasty leaders, on the impulse given by inflammatory speeches.

"Let me intreat you, therefore, not to yield in future to any combination of students whatever. If necessary, you can plead that, being foreigners, you are non-combatants; but it will be quite as well to protest against the right of your fellow students to prescribe laws for each other."

The annual meeting of the Board this year was held at Philadelphia, where he again endeavored, by a statement of facts and an appeal to acknowledged Christian principles, to impress upon all the duty of giving to the cause of missions a regular and systematic support.

"The efforts made by Christians, within the last thirty years, to send the Gospel into the dark places of the earth, have left a deep impression extensively upon the minds of reflecting men, that the following positions are unquestionable: viz.

"That the state of the heathen nations is now substantially the same as it was in the days of the Apostles;—

"That, in many countries called Christian, the inventions of men and the accumulated superstitions of ignorant and corrupt ages have utterly eclipsed the light of revelation, and reduced millions of souls very nearly to the level of absolute paganism;—

"That, reckoning heathens, Mohammedans, and the ignorant and superstitious in countries nominally Christian, we cannot avoid the conclusion, that more than nine tenths of the human race are without any correct knowledge of God and his government, any just views of sin, or any true apprehension of the way of salvation;—

"That the Gospel affords the only adequate relief for the temporal, as well as for the spiritual wants of men;—

"That before it can afford this relief, it must be preached, understood, and obeyed;—

"That, wherever the Gospel is preached in simplicity and with persevering fidelity, it is proved to be the *power of God and the wisdom of God*, in some who believe;—

"That, in the fulfilment of the divine promises, God has shown himself willing to accompany the labors of his servants with the renewing and sanctifying influences of his Spirit; and

"That there is ample encouragement to multiply faithful teachers, and send them to every land, in expectation of a glorious advance of truth and holiness, which shall reach all the nations, and bring men universally to rejoice in the salvation of Christ.

"Though these positions are fully admitted to be true, a very small number of individuals are found, who are willing to carry them out into all their practical consequences. Nothing can be clearer, than that men are bound to make exertions for the benefit of their fellow men, in proportion to their own ability, and the magnitude of the blessings which they endeavor to communicate. And when these blessings are inconceivably great, and the probability that they may be communicated is strong, we are bound by the general law of benevolence, if there were no express command on the subject, to make vigorous, cheerful, and long continued exertions, that there may be no failure on our part, in the great and holy work of bringing penitent sinners home to God. It is too plain for argument, that every professed follower of Christ is bound by his profession, taken in any intelligible sense, to do something for the common cause of religion; and every well instructed Christian, who thinks he knows experimentally the value of the Gospel, cannot consistently do less than devote a suitable and a worthy portion of his time and property to promoting the spiritual good of mankind. And this portion should be appropriated as a matter of system and of fixed principle. What portion of our time and property should be deemed suitable and worthy, must be settled by a reference to the most obvious motives of Christianity, and especially to those feelings of love, gratitude, and generous sympathy, to which the appeal is so often made by our Saviour and his Apostles. No conclusions short of these can be entertained for a moment, unless we go the full length of releasing ourselves from all obligation to labor for the good of others; and thus declare concerning ourselves, that we are not partakers of the divine nature; that we have not the spirit of Christ; and that we do not lay up treasure in heaven. This would be no less, than to disinherit ourselves from our Heavenly Father's bounty, to rely for happiness upon our own resources, and to proclaim ourselves independent of God. To such frightful extremities must we be led, unless we are willing to acknowledge that we are *not our own*, but *are bought with a price;* and that no true Christian *liveth to himself;* and that no man, who is duly mindful of his spiritual nature and his immortal destiny, can withhold from the service of the church, and of the great human family, those faculties which he received by the grace of his Redeemer."

The remainder of the autumn was very much employed in laborious and sometimes perplexing duties, immediately connected with the missionary service. Another subject, however, was beginning to attract attention, and a movement now commenced in every way congenial to the feelings of Mr. Evarts. The Sabbath was always to him the holy of the Lord, honorable, a day of sacred rest and religious improvement. Personally, he was faithful and diligent in the use of its privileges. It is not probable that after he entered college, he ever failed to note down in some form the subject of the sermons that he heard, with skeletons and remarks, according to the circumstances: and his high estimate of the privilege of sacred rest and of public worship, is strikingly shown by many passages in these papers. For the community, too, he valued the Sabbath as above all price; and the means of securing its more general and appropriate observance had been with him a subject of much thought for many years.*

In 1828, the public attention was extensively called to the profanation of the Sabbath by public conveyances, and by the operations of the Post Office Department. The opening of the Post Offices for part of the Sabbath day was a practice gradually introduced, at first without any requirement of law. In 1810, a section was inserted in the law regulating the Department, by which Postmasters were obliged to deliver letters at all reasonable hours *on every day of the week.* This requirement attracted very little attention at the time; and it is supposed that the section alluded to was scarcely considered at all, except by the committee that introduced it. Its consequences, however, soon began to attract attention; and the transportation of the mail and the opening of the offices were soon extensively felt, by intelligent and Christian men, to be a serious and alarming evil.

Soon after the conclusion of the last war with Great Britain, while Mr. Evarts was editor of the Panoplist, the subject was much discussed, and numerous petitions went up to Congress, asking for a removal of these evils. The attention of Congress was arrested, and a respectful report was made by the Postmaster General; but a regard to what was supposed to be the public accommodation and convenience prevented any legislative interposition.

Although the evil and the wrong continued to weigh heavily upon the minds of reflecting and patriotic men, no general effort was made on the subject till this year.† Early in December, a most respectable committee was organized in New York city, consisting of gentlemen of different religious denominations, who soon sent out an invitation to their countrymen to join in a petition for the closing of the Post-offices and discontinuance of the mails on the Sabbath. Mr. Evarts at once engaged in the effort with great earnestness; and as a member of a committee for that purpose, wrote a petition which was circulated in Boston and distributed throughout New England. The movement cheered and animated him. "You would be surprised," he writes, Dec. 26, "at the increase of moral feeling on this subject, as is evinced by activity in promoting subscriptions, &c. A large portion of the most respectable inhabitants of Boston are among the signers."

---

* See letter to Dr. Worcester, p. 109, June 18, 1816.

† A National Sabbath Union was formed in New York in the spring of the year 1828. In any adequate history of this movement, the name of the late JOSIAH BISSELL, Jr., of Rochester, New York, would be most honorably conspicuous. Some characteristic notices of this remarkable man occur on preceding pages. No one who met him at this time can forget the activity, the energy, the singleness of purpose, the entire devotedness to a good cause for Christ's sake, the unreserved consecration of property, time, and influence, and the fervent devotional spirit, that marked every waking moment, and made all around him glow in the cause. The sound judgment of Mr. Evarts, although decidedly with him in the general tenor of his movements, could not always approve of every act and word; but he most cordially sympathized with him in spirit, and often remarked that a few such men as JOSIAH BISSELL would hasten the day of the church's millennial glory. Mr. Bissell and others on the great

Just at this juncture, too, the clouds began to gather more thickly over the prospects of the Indians, for whom he had labored so many years, whose progress he had watched with such deep interest, and whose well being, not only religious considerations, but extensive personal acquaintance made so dear to him. At the close of December, it was determined by the Prudential Committee that he must again repair to Washington. "The particular object is," he writes, "to make representations respecting the rights of the Indians; as it appears from the President's message, and the report of the Secretary of War, that severe measures are meditated against them; or in other words, that they will be compelled to remove, or to have their white neighbors let in upon them. I hope to set out in a fortnight, though it will be difficult. It would be much more agreeable, on several accounts, to stay in Boston, and get well through our correspondence."

---

thoroughfares were particularly affected by this consideration;—that the patronage of government, in paying for the transportation of the mails on the Sabbath, furnished the means for, and was the cause of, the running of stage coaches on that day, and of a great and rapidly increasing profanation of it, wherever such patronage was given. It was a national measure; and the people, who *might* order it otherwise, were involved in the guilt.

CHAPTER VIII.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY. 1829—1830.

We are now arrived at those months of intense anxiety and unremitted labor, that proved too much for the feeble constitution of Mr. Evarts, and hurried him to his final rest. Indeed, from the beginning of 1828, the outrages at the Sandwich Islands, and one or two other harassing subjects immediately connected with his official duties, had filled his mind, to an unwonted degree, with anxiety and care. He could always sleep soundly, when he chose; and that power enabled him, though of so frail health, to endure what would have broken down most stronger men. But he allowed himself scarcely any other moments of rest or relaxation. Much of the time away from home, busy with other men during their active hours, and then preparing important and voluminous documents when alone, protracting his labors to eleven and twelve o'clock at night, and even later,—although he reached the beginning of the year 1829 without a sensible failure of health, it is evident from the result, that the sustaining power, even then, was in the spiritual, rather than the physical energies.

After an anxious and laborious month at home, he left Boston at the close of January, on his way to Washington, whither he was called, not only by the agitation of the question of the removal of the Indians, but by the earnest representations of gentlemen in Boston, New York, and at the seat of government, urging the importance of his attention there, to second the memorials that had been forwarded in great numbers, praying for a discontinuance of the Sabbath mails. "It would give me pleasure," he writes to Mr. Bissell, "did time permit, to write upon the various topics which you mention. But I am much occupied; new business comes upon me daily; and I am wishing to set out soon for Washington, to attend to the concerns of Indian missions, and to afford my feeble aid in regard to Sabbath measures. The spirit of your letter I admire. Several important thoughts may be of use to me and to others. I would caution you, however, against saying severe things against the rich. Our Saviour knew the hearts of all men; but we are weak and ignorant, and may be too much influenced by the pressure of circumstances, partial views, and various passions. The principle of universal consecration may indeed be insisted upon; and the obligation to do all we can, and to do it now."

A few of the memorials sent on by those who wished to have the mails discontinued on the Sabbath, had been addressed to the Senate, and Col. Richard M. Johnson, then chairman of the Post Office Committee in that body, had presented an adverse, and a very unjust and bitter report upon the subject, before Mr. Evarts left Boston.* As an appeal to vulgar prejudices, it was well calculated to accomplish its end, and encourage the opposition of those who care nothing for the sanctity of the Lord's Day; and the mouths of multitudes were soon filled with arguments against clerical influence and the alleged wish to unite church and state.

Mr. Evarts, having been delayed by important business at New Haven and elsewhere, did not reach Washington till February 12th.

"February 5. New York. Attended a meeting of the Managers of the American Bible Society. Two subjects of importance came up;—one, an application for money to print the Scriptures in the Burman language; the other, a proposal to give the Auxiliary Committee power to appoint agents and send them forth without reference to the Board of Managers. The first was referred to the Committee of Foreign Distribution. The second proposal was carried, and was considered a victory over the *commercial spirit*, as it is called, of a certain part of the Managers. Dr. Milnor made a good speech upon the utility of agents, and upon the necessity of enlarged operations.

---

* Four memorials only, with 350 signatures, had then been presented in the Senate. At the same time there were probably at least 25,000 signatures to memorials presented in the House of Representatives.

"6. Attended a meeting of the Managers of the Seamen's Friend Society, and answered, as far as I was able, all questions proposed in reference to a missionary among the sailors in the river of Canton.

"P. M. Wrote No. 2* to the Missionary Rooms, and a letter to Mr. Chamberlain at the Sandwich Islands. Spent part of the evening with Mr. T., who had lately returned from Washington, and from whom I learned much that may be useful to me.

"Monday, 9. Reached Lancaster† at four o'clock and York at nine. Mr. Cheeves lives near Lancaster. This is supposed to be the richest agricultural district in the United States; but the people are not advanced in any other kind of civilization, than what relates to the cultivation of land. There is a total absence of taste in their dwelling-houses, gardens, &c., and a great want of comfort too.

"I was told in the stage, by an inhabitant of the vicinity, that nearly all the land from Lancaster to Columbia, (eleven miles,) would produce sixty bushels of wheat to the acre. I also learned a fact that interested me much, as bearing upon the settlement of the great prairies beyond the Mississippi. It was this; that the country about Lancaster was entirely destitute of trees, except upon the water courses, when the country was settled, which I think was less than a century ago; that the people then were obliged to dig ditches, as they could make no fences; and that the thrifty and beautiful woodlands which are now to be seen, have had their origin since the annual fires were stopped by cultivation.

---

* These letters to the Rooms, whether written while absent at Washington at different times, or on other journeys, were in fact journals of daily employments,—labors, conversations, &c., with remarks, written in all the freedom of unreserved confidence. They are crowded with interest, but, from the nature of the case, not generally adapted to publication.

† This route, and by stage, being the only one then practicable from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

"10. Baltimore. Made several calls. Conversed with Mr. Nevins about aiding our missionary operations. He says nothing can be effectually done in Baltimore without a good agent;—that Messrs. King and Kirk prepared the way for another agent, though they could not succeed themselves. They set the mark so high that the rich men were not prepared to reach it. They asked for hundreds, which they could not obtain, though they excited the people so that they would willingly have given tens.

"11. Washington. Arrived at eleven at Gadsby's, where are nearly 200 lodgers, including Gen. Jackson and his suite.

"15. Immediately on my arrival, I endeavored to ascertain how matters stood respecting the various concerns which brought me hither, with a view to apply my time to that subject which demanded it most."

The Committee of the House of Representatives, to which body the memorials relating to Sabbath mails had generally been sent, had presented a report, doing justice to the principles and motives of the memorialists, and recommending some changes in accordance with their views. But the report had not been acted upon in any way, and the friends of the Sabbath were a good deal solicitous about the result.

"February 16. The Postmaster General informed me that the Post Office in London is not opened on the Sabbath, as we previously knew; and that *no mail is made up*, nor is *any mail received* at that office, on that day. This he has from Mr. Vaughan, the British minister now here. The mails which had left London previously to the Sabbath, continue their course on the Sabbath, as on other days; and the post-offices, in the provincial towns are open a little while on Sabbath mornings. The mail *coaches* leave London, and come in, on the Sabbath; but they leave the city *without the mail*, and do not approach the post-office at all. It follows that the return mails are kept in the coaches, or at the stage offices, till the Sabbath is past. All that is necessary in Great Britain, in order that the Sabbath should be perfectly observed by the post-office department, is, that the same plan should be pursued in the provincial towns and on the highways, as is pursued in London, the great emporium of the world, whose post-office is probably the seat of more business, and that of greater importance, than the aggregate business of any other five post-offices upon earth; say the post-offices of Paris, Vienna, Petersburgh, Hamburg, and New York. How ridiculous to talk so largely of expresses, as though forty mercantile houses would have their men running a race from New York to Boston every Sabbath, if the mail were not carried, when the mail does not leave London from Saturday afternoon till Monday afternoon; and when the mercantile correspondence between London and Liverpool alone, is estimated to be at least five times as great as between New York and Philadelphia.

"It is perfectly evident that nearly all the active opposition which the petitions have to encounter, originates in the dislike of religion, and the fear that religion is likely to gain too much influence. This we knew beforehand; and this we are constantly to remember; though we must not say it publicly. How can it be expected that members of Congress should wish to defend the Sabbath, when the most of them pay no religious regard to it whatever? It was estimated yesterday by a member, that not more than one tenth part of the members of the two houses attend public worship as a regular thing; others attend half the time; others very seldom; and a large number scarcely at all during the session. Some have said that they attend when at home, and that is enough; they cannot spend the time to attend here.

"Went to the House, to witness the presentation of petitions. Members spoke so low, and there was so much noise, that I could not ascertain how many petitions had relation to Sabbath mails. There were a respectable number, however; and, among them, one was presented by Mr. Crowninshield, from persons in his district, one by Mr. Everett, from inhabitants of Cambridge, and some from North Carolina, Ohio, Alabama, Missouri, and other states.

"21. I think the prospect of the Cherokees very dark. Mr. Ross* told me this morning, that if Georgia sends in her officers to execute process upon the Indians, they will resist, from mere desperation, being determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and preferring death to subjugation or exile.

"23. Yesterday Dr. Ely preached in the Capitol. This morning he introduced me to the General [Jackson.] We entered immediately upon Indian affairs. He thinks that the Indians are in a difficult case. The evil which he apprehends is, a direct collision between the national and state authorities. It is manifest that he is not now prepared to interpose and defend the Cherokees from Georgia; and you may easily judge whether it is probable he will be in more favorable circumstances hereafter to decide in favor of the weaker party. I must say, however, that I have no evidence that any man now at Washington, and having the power to defend the Indians, would be more likely to do so than he. It seems to be taken for granted, that if a 'sovereign and independent state,' to use the cant phrase of the day, undertakes to dispossess the Indians, the national government can do nothing to prevent it. I shall wait for another interview, at which I shall endeavor to state the question plainly. It is, however, a tender point; and it is very difficult to be faithful and sufficiently respectful.

"25. Mr. M'L. [who, it was supposed, would be the new Secretary of War,] is the man whom, of all others connected with either of the parties, I would wish to see in the Department of War. Not that I suppose that he can withstand the strong current now running against the Indians, nor that he has altogether correct views on the subject; but I know of no man in public life, or extensively known to the American people as a politician, who has more correct principles than he; and whatever may be his views, he is mild and candid in his manner, and will be steady and energetic in his course of conduct.

"For the last week, I have spent a part of every day in looking over the petitions with reference to the Sabbath, in the Committee room in which the Committee of the House on Post

---

* John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokees.

Offices and Post Roads hold their meetings. Mr. H. of New York has been with me. I obtained permission from the chairman. We have now gone over all that we can find, except those which have been offered during the last two weeks. I shall be able to state the number of petitions and the number of signers.

"There is among the petitioners a vast amount of moral and intellectual power; and, if supported by the proper degree of zealous effort, it must be successful.

"If our whole country were to petition, as has been done in Boston, Newburyport, Springfield, West Springfield, Albany, New York, Newark, Baltimore, Prince Edward, Va., Charleston, S. C., Augusta, Ga., and many other places; and if the petitioners would, in the interval between the present session of Congress and the next, use their influence with members, there could be no doubt of a favorable issue within a short time.

"The following measures, (or rather classes of measures,) should be resolved upon immediately, by the friends of the Sabbath.

"1. To make the celebration of the anniversary of the General Sabbath Union as interesting as possible; and to have a series of resolutions ably and carefully drawn, and an address made ready for the occasion.

"2. To organize a system by which the friends of the Sabbath shall make known their wishes to their representatives, face to face, repeatedly and earnestly, as soon as possible after their return from Washington.

"3. To take the proper steps in season to call forth the religious strength of the country in petitions next fall.

"4. To secure, as far as possible, the co-operation of Christians of different denominations.

"I am strongly of opinion that we must keep the *command of God* in the front of this battle; and that the matter of expediency and temporal benefit must come in subsequently, as confirmatory and auxiliary. I have not found a single member of Congress whose defence of the Sabbath would be worth a fig, who would not build altogether on the foundation of the Sabbath being a divine institution, and of our being obliged to regard it as such.

"The plain common sense petitions, from almost all parts of the country, begin by a reference to the law of God."

The result of this examination of memorials was, the publication, in May, of a pamphlet, prepared with great care, giving a list of the places from which memorials were sent; extracts from memorials, arranged under appropriate heads; and selected names of memorialists; the whole designed to exhibit briefly the nature and importance of the object, the reasons urged for the proposed change, and the union of intelligent men in all the departments of business and of public life, in seeking that change.

"February 26. I have not yet mentioned the remonstrances against Congress doing any thing in compliance with the petitions on the subject of Sabbath mails.

"These remonstrances have been presented from towns on the line of the Pioneer stages,*—from the County of Kennebec, Me., from Philadelphia, and a few other places. There was great zeal in Philadelphia against the Sabbath, and I should think but little in its favor. A printed form of a remonstrance was circulated and pressed upon the lowest classes of society. We discovered that, to swell the list of names, duplicate signatures had been obtained, to a considerable extent. Our most charitable conclusion is, that the signers were requested to sign duplicates, that a remonstrance might be presented *to each house;* but that the agents in this business thought it would be a good trick to send the whole to one house, for the purpose of counting a large number of names. I first observed that the same name was repeated in several small lists of names, which were sent separately. This led to a comparison of two long lists, where it was observed that both began with the same signers, though not exactly in the same order. At last I found that one of the lists, (the longest of all,) contained whole sheets with the same names repeated exactly in the same order. I shall endeavor to examine this matter further.

---

* A line of stages from Albany to Buffalo, established by the exertions and chiefly at the expense of Mr. Bissell, as a Sabbath-keeping line, for the purpose of preventing, as far as possible, the profanation of the Sabbath on that great thoroughfare.

"I have just been spending some time with Mr. Ross and his colleagues. They were just preparing a petition to Congress, in which I advised two amendments, that were readily adopted. I have thought it to be my duty to avow myself a decided friend of the Indians, while I disclaim any authority from them to act as their agent. There was an interesting debate yesterday on Indian subjects, at which I was not present. It is expected to be renewed to-day, and I hasten to the Capitol to hear it."

TO MR. D. GREENE.

"Since I wrote this forenoon, I have spent an hour with Mr. F. It does me good to see such a man on this ground. If there were twenty of the same stamp, suitably dispersed in each house, almost any thing could be accomplished for the good of our beloved country. How far he will be able to stand alone, or nearly alone, time will show. I believe I have not yet said to you, what I have ascertained to be the fact, that men from whom I had expected better things, are guilty of tergiversation in regard to moral subjects; and I presume, *a fortiori*, in regard to other subjects, where their own views and interests are to be promoted. Thus, on the Sabbath question, men who talked very fairly and decidedly to me in regard to closing post-offices, used all their influence with others to prevent anything whatever being done.

"I believe, however, that a sufficient number can be enlisted to take a firm stand at the next session of Congress; and if there is a firm, decided, argumentative stand taken, in the way of serious, persevering debate, it will do much to help the cause of morals in our land.

"Monday, March 9th. Last Friday, I learned that the Review of Mr. Johnson's Report had been received by all the members. They knew not whence it came. I borrowed a copy, and read it through with great delight. I then lent it to Mr. F., with whom I have spent the two last evenings, and who read it through immediately, and with entire and warm approbation. He says it will do immense good, and that a cheap edition must be extensively circulated. More of this hereafter.

"I have just parted with Gov. —— and Gov. ——. They are both entirely dispirited about the Indians. Gov. —— says their case is entirely hopeless. The whites will destroy the whole race. Gov. —— says that, unless the present progress of things is arrested now, nothing can be done hereafter.

"Not a single appropriation has been made for the northern Indians, in their present critical and precarious condition. The appropriations requested may all have been well enough, for aught I know; but they were defeated by the friends of the Indians, because they would not legislate in the dark—and because they would not begin by making points, or corners, in a plan, till they could see how the plan is to be filled up. This hesitation I entirely approve, and urged Mr. B. and others not to do any thing till the bearing of what they are doing could be seen.

"Next session there will be, I think, much and intelligent debating on this subject; and the result will be, either that Congress will do nothing, and the whites, under the protection of the Southern States, will deal with the Indians as seems right in their own eyes; or everything will be carried headlong, in all branches of the government, against the poor Indians. I have not seen a single man, of any party, who thinks that anything effectual can be done to protect our weak red men of the forest."

Yet Mr. Evarts did not despair of the republic.

"If we can promote the cause of good morals and of religion," he wrote at this time, "and if it should please the Lord to favor us in years to come as in years past, twenty years will not elapse before the voice of conscience will be felt and regarded extensively within the walls of the Capitol. We should aim that this may be accomplished immediately."

"March 28. I am writing a document on the rights of the Cherokees, to be laid before the government;* not with the expectation of producing any effect on the cabinet; but for the sake of bearing a testimony, and thus clearing ourselves from any share in what will be most glaring injustice. Gen. Jackson left home, I have no doubt, with a settled conviction that it would be necessary to deliver the Indians over to the States.

---

* This argument, though written out to the extent of more than fifty close pages, was never entirely completed, Mr. Evarts having finally decided on an appeal to the public. The course of reasoning was that pursued in the Essays afterwards published under the signature of WILLIAM PENN.

"A letter has been already written by him to the Creeks, saying that he cannot interpose to shield them from the laws of Alabama; but that if they will remove, they shall be secure in the possession of lands at the west forever. I have no doubt he will say the same to the Cherokee delegation before they leave the city.

"Mr. L. thinks it would be best for our Board to join in advising removal; that by approving of the measures of government, we should get assistance. But I do not think we can stand acquitted before God, or posterity, unless we bear a testimony against the threatened course of proceeding. If the Indians are compelled to go, we must do them as much good as we can. Till that compulsion shall be in operation, and irresistible, and shall be seen to be so, I think we are not bound to conceal our opinion; but that, on the contrary, we are bound to declare it plainly, at least once.

"I shall set out on the first of April, or as soon after as possible. I do not make as much progress as I could desire. Yet I sit up till eleven or twelve o'clock, see very little company, except on business, and visit very little.

"Philadelphia, April 6. Before leaving Washington, I had an interview with the Secretary of War on the Indian subject. Mr. B., of Georgia happened to be present. On my way hither I fell into the same steamboat with him, and, without any formal introduction, I conversed on the subject of Indian treaties. This providential interview I have looked upon as very important, as it enables me to say, more explicitly and fully than I should otherwise have felt warranted to say, (though I had no doubt in my own mind,) to what extent the government and the southern States will go, in regard to denying the rights of the Cherokees. Mr. B. stated that the government inconsiderately fell into the habit of making treaties with the Indians; that Indians are not proper parties to treaties; that the government of the United States have no power to guarantee to Indians lands within the limits of any of the old States; and that Georgia has a perfect title to the Cherokee lands, while the Cherokees have no title at all but that of occupancy. He said (what I knew before) that Gen. Jackson had written to the Creeks in Alabama, stating that he could not protect them from the laws of that State.

"The temper and feelings of the government are such that the members will feel exasperated, if we interpose by way of argument, and attempt, however respectfully, to defend the rights of the Cherokees. Although this does not alter my opinion in regard to the path of duty, it furnishes a powerful reason why we should consider well what we do. I did not finish my long document on this subject; but thought I should send it back from New York, if it meet the approbation of Mr. F. I now think I shall show it to him, take his advice, and bring it with me to Boston.

"I place great reliance on Mr. F.'s opinion, not only because it is valuable in itself, but because we must rely more on his agency in behalf of anything good, than on the agency of any other man connected with our national councils.

"Troubles and vexations are thickening around us; and I have no doubt they will be much greater, before they are less. But, so far as we can do what is right, I am not concerned about consequences."

"I returned from Washington," he writes after his arrival home, "just a week ago, having been absent from Boston since the last day of January. During this week we have had a Committee meeting, at which much business was transacted. I have been to Andover, whence I came this morning. My principal business at Washington related to the condition of the Indians. I had not much intercourse with the government,—either the old or the new administration; but enough to learn that the poor Indians have little to hope for, unless the Lord should turn the hearts of our rulers by the instrumentality of the reasonings, expostulations, and entreaties of his people."

Having gone through the urgent business at home, and carried his pamphlet on Sabbath mails through the press, he went to New York and Philadelphia, to attend the religious anniversaries and the General Assembly.

"New York, Monday morning, May 11. Breakfasted with Mr. Bruen, in order to hear his report for the Sabbath Union. From eleven to two, was engaged in writing resolutions respecting the Sabbath Union. After dinner these resolutions were read and criticised, and were copied late in the evening. I had been requested on Saturday evening to prepare them. Till we arrived, the Committee had not intended to have any resolutions, and had made very little preparation for the meeting.

"Tuesday, 12. Sabbath Union, meeting for business at eight. The pledge struck out nearly unanimously, Mr. Bissell warmly concurring.

"Public meeting at ten, at the Methodist church, John street. Audience not large; but the meeting, I think, was the best, the most unstudied, and the most natural of the week. Dr. Reese, a Methodist, moved the printing of the Report, in a warm speech, in which he urged Christians of all denominations to unite in preserving the public morals, and to have a regard to this subject in their estimation of the character of public men. I made a short statement in regard to the perceptible influence of the present Sabbath measures. Mr. McIlvaine made a speech of much merit, though parts of it were a good deal studied. Dr. Beecher made the concluding speech. Some thought it the best speech they ever heard him make. It would certainly rank among his most impressive addresses.

"In the evening, the temperance meeting formed *an era in this country*. This era consisted in the speech of Mr. Maxwell, which was an hour and ten minutes in length, and was listened to with the most profound. attention. It was, in many respects, a noble effort; but the two things which constituted it the commencement of an era were, the fearless manner in which he attacked the public authorities of the city, and the distinct proposal of an adequate remedy. The public authorities he represented as yielding to immorality for the sake of securing the votes of the immoral—and he declared, in two instances, perhaps a quarter of an hour apart, that the people of this country cannot retain a free government, unless they will choose for their rulers "men who fear God and honor the law." He said that great responsibility lies upon the Methodists and Baptists of this city; for they might, by union and co-operation, secure the election of good men for their rulers. He suggested one great measure to prevent intemperance in cities; which was, that ardent spirits should not be sold at the same shops with bread and other necessaries of life. At the close he pronounced a studied eulogium, (the only studied part of his speech,) on the American Temperance Society. He compared it, in a long and beautiful paragraph, to the infant Hercules. He introduced this part of this speech by a confession in nearly these words: 'I was one of those, sir, who are accustomed to say, "All this stir about intemperance is of no use; all things will remain as they were;" but I thank God I have changed my mind. I have read and heard the statements of wiser men than myself; and the result is, that I am convinced a great change is already accomplished, and a still greater is at hand.'

"He enlarged upon the power of the press, saying, that Mr. Wilberforce did not abolish the slave trade. It was done by the press. Nor has Mr. O'Connel with his Irish Association, nor the Duke of Wellington, nor Mr. Peel, nor the king of England, carried the question of Catholic emancipation. It has been done by the press.

"In short, he pressed this great doctrine, which is so clear to us, that public opinion, under the powerful direction of virtuous minds, must be relied upon for rendering our country enlightened and permanently free."

At Philadelphia, the business of Mr. Evarts was harassing and delicate. It was exceedingly important to retain the good will and co-operation of the Presbyterian churches; and indeed the friends of the Board thought themselves entitled to that aid in consequence of former transactions. The missions and other responsibilities of the United Foreign Mission Society had been assumed by the Board, with the understanding, sanctioned by the General Assembly, that the co-operation of the Presbyterian churches might be relied on; and his nice sense of justice was painfully touched, when he found leading individuals in that church disposed to withdraw their aid, and do what they might to unite the whole body in the exclusive support of a separate organization. But he was not a man to become the means, even innocently, and as a wronged party, of alienated feeling among the people of God, if he could possibly avoid it. His aim, therefore, was, to prevent any disturbance of mutual good will, and at the same time to secure for the Board continued and unobjectionable access to the Presbyterian churches, for their sympathy and aid. He was able to leave the business in a state that he considered pretty good, though not exactly such as he could wish.

Early in June he was again at his post in Boston, preparing to go through the summer's work at the Rooms without the aid of either of the Assistant Secretaries. Mr. Anderson had been absent nearly a year, on a visit to the Mediterranean missions, and Mr. Greene now left Boston on a tour of inspection among the Northwestern Indians. The Annual Report was to be prepared, the condition of the Southern Indians was pressing upon his heart with increased urgency, and various other important avocations, which increased with increase of years, occupied too unremittingly every day and every waking hour.

TO MR. L. S. WILLIAMS, AI-IK-HUN-NA.

Boston, June 8, 1829.

"Your letter and journal of May 4th was received on the 6th inst. It is gratifying to us to receive such evidences of the presence of the Lord with our missionaries, and of his blessing on their labors, as your letter furnishes.

"The present state of things among the Choctaws renders your situation and that of your brethren, peculiarly interesting and responsible. I trust, my dear sir, you are duly sensible of this, and that you feel the importance of much prudence, fidelity and zeal, and the consequent necessity of much prayer for wisdom and grace to help you, in dealing with the souls whom you are called to watch over and instruct, at a time when they are beginning to awake to their eternal interests. Those especially, concerning whom you hope that they have embraced the gospel, will need to be watched over with more than ordinary care; to be guarded against false hopes and premature professions; and also against the many snares and temptations to which they are and must be exposed. The importance of this subject is increased by the considerations, that the character which these first converts take, and the tone which is now given to their religious feelings and habits, will materially affect the character of future converts, for years, and perhaps for generations to come.

"While you are cautious about giving encouragement to new converts, or pronouncing them to be such, let not your zeal slacken about others. Now is your harvest time, for which you have long prayed. Now is the time to thrust in your sickle and reap, according to the strength which the Lord gives you. You should, therefore be instant, in season and out of season; preaching the word, holding up the truth clearly, affectionately, and pungently, before the minds of the people, pouring simple instruction into their minds on all proper occasions, and endeavoring to commend yourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. Your work is indeed arduous, but your encouragements are great, and great will be your reward, if you are faithful unto death."

In a private letter to a bereaved correspondent, dated July 4th, Mr. Evarts, after expressions of sympathy and the suggestion of topics of consolation, aims delicately to soothe the wounded heart, by fixing the attention of his friend on the good to be done and on the means of salutary influence within his individual reach.

TO J. H. ESQ.

Boston, July 4, 1829.

"In regard to your departed wife, you have strong consolations. She gave good evidence of being prepared for the change which she has experienced. I have never yet felt it in my heart to wish, that any of the friends of God, (however dear they might be to me personally,) should be brought back to this world. Though their services may have seemed necessary here, yet, when God has determined the question of their residence on earth, and they are fairly discharged from further responsibility here, I cannot but regard them as having made a happy escape from a world of sin and woe.

"Let us not mourn for them, but for those who remain; and let us strive to be accounted worthy to associate with those who through faith and patience have inherited the promises.

"There is much for us to do while we remain in the world; and none of us can plead that we have not a sphere of action. The minds of men are stirring on the subject of religion, and the press is exerting an amazing influence upon the human condition. It is, to a vast extent, under the control of bad men. And what is much to be regretted, the friends of virtue and good order are very indolent, as to holding profligate or heedless editors in check. This could be done with the greatest ease, as various experiments of this kind have shown.

"I hope you have seen our pamphlet on Sabbath mails; but lest you should not, I send you a copy. Let me solicit you to write on the subject of the Sabbath for one of the Hartford papers. You could do it well. Let me ask, also, that you will write a full and elaborate petition to Congress on the subject, to be subscribed and transmitted early in November. There is a great advantage in having petitions written with care; not that they will, as a matter of course, have any effect upon Congress. But they may be published with good effect in the places where they were written; and they afford vantage ground to advocates on the floor of Congress, of whom we shall have some in both houses.

"This is an immensely important subject, and swells in magnitude the more it is considered and examined. There is more and more reason to hope that our nation can be made to see and appreciate the value of the Sabbath."

"I am occupied at present," he writes in August to one of his associates, "with the following things: 1. Consultations and advice. 2. Missionary correspondence. 3. Editing the Missionary Herald. 4. Examining the Treasurer's accounts with Mr. Hubbard. 5. Judging as to candidates and new applicants for missionary employment. 6. Beginning the Annual Report. 7. Writing on the subject of the Indians two numbers a week.* 8. Miscellaneous. You need not be surprised, therefore, if I get sick, or have a bad Report, or leave some part of the missionary work to suffer materially." And a few days later:

"My health has been very good till last Saturday, at evening, when I was over-worked. Yesterday and to-day I have just been able to attend to ordinary business; and I do not see that it will be possible to write on the Report till you return. Mr. Whiting * has been absent a fortnight.

---

* The Essays of "William Penn."

"The Indian subject is attracting more and more attention; and if the Indians are firm and quiet, it will be very difficult for the government to remove them."

The Indian subject was "attracting more and more attention" chiefly because the exertions of Mr. Evarts began to produce their proper effect upon the public. Under the impressions left upon his mind by his visit to Washington, his first impulse, as we have seen, was to prepare a statement of the case by way of testimony and remonstrance, and leave it with the government.

But he had hardly left the seat of government, when a letter was addressed by Gen. Eaton, then Secretary of War, to the Cherokee delegation at Washington, in which the policy of the administration was announced and positions assumed that seemed to Mr. Evarts to be at war with every principle of justice and good faith. The tenor of this letter precluded all hope of success in any appeal to the government in favor of the rights of the Indians, and served to awaken public attention to the subject in all parts of the country. The feeling excited and the comments called forth by it, encouraged him to hope that an appeal to the people could not be altogether fruitless. The case was so clear, and he had so much confidence in the fidelity of the public conscience, and the power of public opinion, that when he saw so many indications of a readiness to examine the subject and to sympathize with the weaker, the injured, and the threatened party, he could no longer hesitate, but resolved to make full trial of the influence of the press. Accordingly, he prepared himself by a careful review of our relations to the southern tribes, and more especially to the Cherokees, examining the numerous treaties entered into by the colonial, state, and national authorities, and the state and national legislation and judicial decisions bearing upon the question; and in July began the preparation of a series of Essays on the "Present Crisis in the Condition of the American

---

* Rev. G. B. Whiting, missionary to Syria, who assisted Mr. Evarts during Mr. Greene's absence.

Indians." The first two papers were sent to a friend in Washington in July, with the following note to the editors of the National Intelligencer:

> "Gentlemen: I send for your paper two numbers of a series of Essays *on the pending and ripening controversy* between the United States and the Indians. I hope you will insert them. Permit me, as an inducement, to make the following suggestions:
>
> "1. This is a subject which must be abundantly discussed in our country.
>
> "2. It will be among the most important, and probably the most contested, business of the 21st Congress. Some able members of Congress, to my certain knowledge, wish to have the matter discussed.
>
> "3. I expect to make it appear, by a particular examination of treaties, that the United States are bound to secure to the Cherokees the integrity and inviolability of their territory, till they voluntarily surrender it.
>
> "4. In the course of this investigation, I shall not agree with the present Executive of the United States, in the construction which he gives to treaties; but shall be sustained by the uniform tenor of our negotiations with the Indians, and legislation for them, from the origin of our government to the present day.
>
> "5. My discussions will not assume a party character at all; and whenever I speak of the President, or the Secretary of War, it shall always be by their official designation, and in a respectful manner. Though I think that the President has greatly mistaken his powers and his duty in regard to the Indians, I have no wish concerning him, but that he may be a wise and judicious ruler of our growing republic.
>
> "I have always approved of the decorum which you have observed, in speaking of public characters.
>
> "6. I propose to furnish two numbers a week, that they may be copied into semi-weekly papers, if their editors see fit.
>
> "7. The two numbers now sent, have been read to an eminent civilian; and approved by him; and I shall endeavor to be careful in my principles, and accurate in my conclusions. At any rate, should I fall into error, I am perfectly willing that my error should be exposed.
>
> "8. Should you insert these papers, as I hope you may, I would request that there may be as little delay as possible; for there are many symptoms that the country will be awake to the discussion, and is impatient for it.
>
> "In the mean time, permit me to use the signature of that upright legislator and distinguished philanthropist,
>
> "WILLIAM PENN."

The facts brought under review in this discussion related chiefly to the Cherokees and to the claims of the State of Georgia; but in the principles contended for, the rights of all the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi were equally involved. The case of the Cherokees, as briefly stated by Mr. Evarts himself, was as follows:

"For several years past," he says, "it has been evident that the affairs of the southern Indians were approaching to a crisis. The increase of white population in the vicinity of the Indian territories, would of itself lead to efforts to acquire more Indian lands. But the rapid improvement of the Cherokees in civilization, and their taking measures to render their civil government stable, caused the people of Georgia to apprehend that the Indians would so thoroughly understand their rights and their interests, as that it would soon be impossible to purchase their country. Hence, from 1820 to 1827, efforts were constantly made by the authorities of Georgia to obtain all the remaining lands of the Creeks and Cherokees which lay within what are called the chartered limits of that State. The lands of the Creeks were obtained, though with difficulty, and by a process of bribery, fraud, ungenerous importunity, and unmanly threats, an impartial history of which would confer no credit on our country. The Cherokees positively refused to cede another foot of land. With them the business hung in suspense during the period above mentioned. Lands had been obtained from the Indians, in time of peace, by treaty only. The general government alone was authorised to treat, being invested with that exclusive power by the federal constitution. These principles were perfectly well established, and had been implicitly acknowledged by Georgia, in her public acts, times almost innumerable.

"In December, 1827, the legislature of Georgia asserted the claim of that State to the Cherokee country in a different manner, and placed it on different grounds, from anything which had been previously attempted. It was now discovered that the Cherokees had no title to their lands; that they were mere tenants at will; and that Georgia might take possession by force, whenever she pleased. A long report, containing these doctrines, was adopted by both branches of the legislature, approved by the Governor, and by him officially communicated to the president of the United States.

"Nothing material was done on this subject during the last year of Mr. Adams' administration; but, on the 18th of April, 1829, the Secretary of War addressed a letter to the Cherokee Deputation, in which he told them that Indian nations residing within the chartered limits of any State, were subject to the legislation of that State; and that the President had no power to protect them from it. This annunciation was entirely new to the Cherokees. It was, moreover, entirely inconsistent with the whole intercourse between the Cherokees and the United States, during a period of more than half a century.

"As the last session of Congress approached, a petition was prepared by the Cherokee council, in which the justice of the

United States was invoked, and protection was claimed against the encroachments of Georgia. In December, 1828, the legislature of that State had passed an act to *extend the laws of Georgia* over the Cherokees residing in that portion of their own country which is comprehended within the chartered limits of Georgia. The act was to take effect on the first day of June, 1830, and was doubtless intended to convince the Indians that it would be impossible for them to live on the land of their fathers. No measure like this had ever been adopted by any legislature, from the first settlement of this continent by the English to the present day. Nor is there any instance of a State, previously to the act of Georgia, having claimed the right of driving peaceable Indians from their hereditary possessions, and dividing these possessions among the whites. Since the act of Georgia, the States of Alabama and Mississippi have adopted the same principles, and with a view to the same results."

The publication of the argument of Mr. Evarts in support of the rights of the Cherokees, and against the novel claims of the State of Georgia, was commenced on the first of August. The Essays, as they appeared, were immediately copied into other journals, and were, it is believed, republished more extensively, and more generally read, than any other series ever written in this country. The ablest statesmen and jurists pronounced the argument to be one of the most perfect and triumphant that they had ever seen.* The clearness and cogency of the reasoning, the vivacity of the style, and the evident sincerity and earnestness of the writer, rendered the articles attractive to readers of every class; so that, although the discussion was continued through twenty-four numbers, and necessarily devoted for the most part to such dry topics as the construction and bearing of various treaties, and other like questions of international and municipal law, the public attention was held, with increasing interest, to the end. It is due to the subject to quote here a passage or two, showing what it was that Mr. Evarts was called to contend against, and upon what principles his opposition was based. The passages are selected also as specimens of his more impassioned style:

"In a quotation which my last number contained, from a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, it is said, 'That the Indian right of possession has never been questioned;' and that 'it has never been contended that their title amounted to nothing.' This decision was pronounced in 1823. Since that time the politicians of Georgia have strenuously contended that the Indian title amounts to nothing.

---

* Chief Justice Marshall, of the United States Supreme Court, pronounced the Essays the "most conclusive argument that he ever read on any subject whatever."

"In a Report of the joint committee of the Legislature of Georgia, which was approved by the Senate of that State, December 27, 1827, are found such passages as the following:

"The Committee say that European nations 'asserted successfully the right of occupying such parts' of America, 'as each discovered, and thereby they established their supreme command over it.'

"Again: 'It may be contended, with much plausibility, that there is, in these claims, more of *force*, than of *justice;* but they are claims which have been recognized and admitted by the whole civilized world; and it is unquestionably true, that, under such circumstances, *force* becomes *right.*'

"The Committee suppose that 'every foot of land in the United States is held' by the same title.

"The Committee say that it is contended that, by the compact of 1802, 'a *consideration* was contemplated to be paid by the United States to the Indians for their relinquishment of this title; and therefore, that it was of such a character as was entitled to respect, and as could not be taken from them, unless by their consent.' The Committee add, 'But we are of a different opinion.'

"'Before Georgia became a party to the articles of agreement and cession, [the compact of 1802] she could rightfully have possessed herself of those lands, either by *negotiation* with the Indians, or by *force;* and she had determined, in one of the two ways, to do so: but by this contract she made it the duty of the United States to sustain the expense of obtaining for her the possession, provided it could be done upon reasonable terms, and by negotiation; but in case it should be necessary to resort to *force*, this contract with the United States makes no provision: the consequence is, that Georgia is left untrammelled, and at full liberty to prosecute her rights in that point of view, according to her own discretion, and as though no such contract had been made.'

"The Committee give it as their opinion, 'That the right of soil and sovereignty was perfect in Great Britain; that the possession of the Indians was permissive; that they were under the protection of that government; that their title was temporary; that they were mere tenants at will; and that such tenancy might have been determined at any moment, either by negotiation or force, at the pleasure of Great Britain.'

"The words printed in italics are thus distinguished by the Committee."

"It might be difficult to tell which is most remarkable, the reasoning or the morality of these extracts.

"The Committee argue that, as there is no provision in the compact of 1802, by virtue of which the United States are bound to use force upon the Indians, it follows that Georgia has a right to apply force whenever she pleases. This is one specimen of the logic. Again: to most people there would seem to be weight in the remark, that, as the Indians were evidently to receive a *consideration* for their lands, they must have a title which should command respect. But no; in view of this statement, the Committee come to a different conclusion. Here is another specimen.

"The morality of the doctrines inculcated by the Georgia legislature may be sufficiently understood by the broad positions, that discovery gave absolute title to Europeans; that the title of the original inhabitants was permissive; that it was a mere tenancy at will (which is no title at all;) that the discoverer might determine the tenancy *at any moment*, by negotiation or force; and that, as all European governments are alleged to be agreed in these principles, '*force becomes right.*'

"The inhabitants of North America might, therefore, have been rightfully driven into the ocean, '*at any moment*,' when the discoverers should have been willing and able thus to drive them. It is to be inferred, that Cortes and Pizarro were only executing the lawful commands of the king of Spain, when they were taking possession of Mexico and Peru, which, according to this doctrine, rightfully belonged to him; though, in doing so, they were under the unpleasant necessity of murdering the original inhabitants.

"The Committee are entirely mistaken in point of fact, when they say that 'every foot of land in the United States is held' by such a title as has been described; that is, a title in the European sovereign, which, on the moment of discovery, supplanted and subverted all the rights of the natives to the lands on which they were born, and of which they were in full possession. It may be truly said that there is not, within the limits of the United States, as fixed by the peace of 1783, a single foot of land held, as against the original inhabitants, by the title of discovery alone. Incomparably the largest portion of the territory, within the above mentioned limits, has been purchased of the Indians. Some small portions have been conquered; the original owners having been nearly exterminated in war, or driven from their lands by a superior force, or compelled to cede them, as the price of a pacification. But in all these cases, the wars had some other origin than an attempt to enforce the title of discovery. The politicians of Georgia are requested to produce a single instance, after the settlement of the Anglo-American colonies commenced, of any English sovereign, or any colonial governor, or any colonial legislature, or any State legislature, anterior to the treaty of the Indian Spring in 1825, having assumed the right of taking forcible possession of Indian country, at any moment, by virtue of the title of discovery, and without any regard to what the Supreme Court has called 'the just and legal claim' of the natives to retain possession of their country. The exclusive right *of extinguishing the Indian title*, or what has usually been called the right of pre-emption, is a totally different thing from this all-absorbing and overwhelming right of discovery, on which Georgia now insists. If a single instance of such an assumption can be produced, let it be brought forward. Let us contemplate the circumstances in which it originated, and examine its claims to respect. Thousands of instances can be adduced, on the other hand, of acknowledgments made by emigrants from Europe, and by rulers of every grade, from the highest to the lowest;—acknowledgments which admitted the perfect right of the Indians to the peaceable possession of their country, so long as they chose to retain it.

"But if all the governments of Europe had, during the three last centuries, held the doctrine now so warmly espoused by Georgia, how utterly vain would be every attempt to defend it, or to make it appear otherwise than tyrannical, cruel, and abominable. Not all the monarchs of Europe, nor all the writers on the laws of nations,—not all the power and all the sophistry in the world,—could alter its character, or convince an honest, candid, intelligent man, that it is entitled to the least respect. What is this doctrine, so necessary to the present claims of Georgia? It is neither more nor less than the assumption, that the circumstance of an English vessel having sailed along the American coast from Cape Hatteras to the bay of Fundy, as the case might be, gave the English king an absolute and perfect title, not only to the coast, but to all the interior; and that he might, therefore, empower any of his subjects to take forcible possession of the country, to the immediate exclusion and destruction of the original inhabitants.

"In the history of the slave-trade, we have a perfect exhibition of the total inefficacy of human law to sanction what is flagitiously immoral; especially after the eyes of mankind are fixed upon it. For more than two hundred years, the principal powers of Europe legalized the slave-trade. The judicial tribunals of all countries sustained it by their decisions. It was universally established and assented to. But was it right? The voice of the world has pronounced its irrevocable sentence. It is now piracy; and to have been recently connected with it, is indelible infamy. But is it more clearly wrong to take Africans from their native land, than it is to make slaves of the Cherokees upon *their* native land? or, on penalty of their being thus enslaved, driving them into exile?

"It may be supposed, that this is too strong a representation of the case; and that it would be no very serious calamity to the Cherokees, if they were to come under the laws of Georgia. One would think, however, that the spirit of the report from which quotations have been made, must be an indication of what is to be expected from Georgia, in the way of systematic legislation on this subject.

"One law has already been enacted, with the direct view of extending the jurisdiction of Georgia over the Cherokees. It was approved December 20th, 1828, and deserves a particular consideration.

"The first five sections divide that part of the Cherokee country which falls within the chartered limits of Georgia, into five portions, attaching each one of these portions to a contiguous county of Georgia. The sixth section extends the laws of Georgia over white residents within the limits above mentioned; and the seventh declares that, after June 1st, 1830, all Indians 'residing in said territory, and within any one of the counties as aforesaid, shall be liable and subject to such laws and regulations as the legislature may hereafter prescribe."

" SEC. 8. That all laws, usages, and customs, made, established, and in force, in the said territory, by the said Cherokee Indians, be, and the same are hereby, on and after the first day of June, 1830, declared null and void.

" 9. That no Indian, or descendant of Indian, residing within the Creek or Cherokee nations of Indians, shall be deemed a competent witness, or a party to any suit, in any court created by the constitution or laws of this State, to which a white man may be a party."

" Under the administration of this law, a white man might rob or murder a Cherokee, in the presence of many Indians and descendants of Indians; and yet the offence could not be proved. That crimes of this malignant character would be committed, is by no means improbable; but assaults, abuses, and vexations of a far inferior stamp, would render the servitude of the Cherokees intolerable. The plan of Georgia is, as explained by her Senate, to seize five sixths of the territory in question, and distribute it among her citizens. If a Cherokee head of a family chooses to remain, he may possibly have his house and a little farm assigned to him. This is the most favorable supposition. But his rights are not acknowledged. He does not keep the land because it is his own; but receives it as a boon from Georgia. He will be surrounded by five white neighbors. These settlers will not be from the more sober, temperate, and orderly citizens of Georgia, but from the idle, the dissolute, the quarrelsome. Many of them will hate Indians, and take every opportunity of insulting and abusing them. If the cattle of a Cherokee are driven away in his presence; if his fences are thrown down and his crops destroyed; if his children are beaten, and his domestic sanctuary invaded;—whatever outrage and whatever injury he may experience, he cannot even seek a legal remedy. He can neither be a party, nor a witness. He has no friend who can be heard in his behalf. Not an individual can be found who has any interest in seeing justice done him, and who, at the same time, has any power to serve him. Even the slaves of his new neighbors are defended by the self-interest of their masters. But he has not even this consolation. He is exposed to the greatest evils of slavery, without any of its alleviations. Every body is let loose upon him; and it is neither the interest, nor the inclination, nor the official duty, of the white settlers to defend him. Every body may destroy his property; but nobody is bound to keep him from starving when his property is gone. How long could a Cherokee live under such treatment as this?

" Accustomed from his birth to feelings of entire equality and independence, he would find himself, at a single stroke, smitten to the earth, and there held till the manacles of a most degrading vassalage were fastened upon him. As soon as the net of Georgia legislation is sprung over him, he is equally and instantly exposed to public persecution and private indignity. He feels himself to be a vagabond, even while standing upon the very acres which his own hands have laboriously subdued and tilled,—an outlaw, in the house which he has erected and made comfortable for himself, and which, to a white man, would be a castle,—a trespasser, for innocently treading the soil of his native forests,—an intruder, for drinking the pure water of his native springs, or breathing the air of his native mountains,—a stranger among his neighbors,—an alien, on the spot where he was born.

" Who are the human beings, thus suddenly brought into so deplorable and abject a condition? Are they Caffres and Hottentots, skulking through the woods, in a state of nudity, or covered only by a few shreds of tattered sheepskin? Are they runaway slaves, pursued by the vengeance of exasperated masters? Are they Ishmaelites, waylaying the path of inoffensive travellers, and their hands reeking with the blood of recent murders? Are they bands of ruffians, collected from the worst among the discharged tenants of our penitentiaries? Have they invaded our settlements, driven off the inhabitants, and established themselves in an unrighteous possession, of which they are now about to be divested? What is their character, and what is their crime, that their lands are to be divided, and their persons and families to be put beyond the protection of the law?

" If they were Caffres, or Hottentots, they should be dealt with kindly; and should be compassionated in their ignorance and degradation. If some of them were Ishmaelites and renegadoes, they should be tried in a regular manner. The innocent should not be punished with the guilty. The guilty should not be punished without a trial; and neither the innocent nor the guilty should be delivered over to private malice.

" How would an intelligent foreigner, a German, a Frenchman, or an Englishman, be astonished to learn that the Cherokees are neither savages, nor criminals;—that they have never encroached upon the lands of others;—that their only offence consists in the possession of lands which their neighbors covet;—that they are peaceful agriculturists, better clothed, fed, and housed, than many of the peasantry in most civilized countries;—that they have sustained diplomatic relations with the whites, at different periods, from the first settlement of the contiguous territory by Europeans; —that these relations have ripened into a firm and lasting peace, which has not been broken by a single act of hostility for forty years;—that the peace thus cemented is the subject of numerous treaties, the bases of which are, a sovereignty of the Cherokees, limited, in certain respects, by express stipulations, and a guaranty, on the part of the United States, of protection and inviolate territorial limits;—that the treaties have been the foundation of numerous legal enactments for the protection of the weaker party, whose title has been pronounced, by the highest tribunal in our country, to be worthy of the respect of all courts, till it be legitimately extinguished;—that the Cherokees are not charged with having broken their engagements, or done any thing to forfeit the guaranty which they had received as the indispensable condition of their grants to the United States;—that they have always been called brothers and children by the President of the United States, and by all other public functionaries speaking in the name of the country;—that they have been encouraged and aided in rising to a state of civilization, by our national government and benevolent associations of individuals;—that one great motive presented to their minds by the government, has uniformly been the hope and expectation of a permanent residence, as farmers and mechanics, upon the lands of their ancestors, and the enjoyment of wise laws, administered by themselves, upon truly republican principles;—that, relying upon these guaranties, and sustained by such a hope, and aided in the cultivation of their minds and hearts by benevolent individuals stationed among them at their own request, and partly at the charge of the general government, they have greatly risen in their character, condition, and prospects;—that they have a regularly organized government of their own, consisting of legislative, judicial, and executive departments, formed by the advice of the third President of the United States, and now in easy and natural operation;—that a majority of the people can read their own language, which was never reduced to writing till less than seven years ago, and never printed till within less than two years;—that a considerable number of the young and some of the older can read and write the English language;—that ten or twelve schools are now attended by Cherokee children;—that, for years past, unassisted native Cherokees have been able to transact public business, by written communications, which, to say the least, need not fear a comparison, in point of style, sense, and argument, with many communications made to them by some of the highest functionaries of our national government;—that these Cherokees, in their treatment of whites, as in their intercourse with each other, are mild in their manners and hospitable in their feelings and conduct;—and, to crown the whole, that they are bound to us by the ties of Christianity which they profess, and which many of them exemplify as members of regular Christian churches.

" These are the men whose country is to be wrested from them, and who are to be brought under the laws of Georgia without their own consent. These civilized and educated men;—these orderly members of a society, raised, in part, by the fostering care of our national government, from rude materials, but now exhibiting a good degree of symmetry and beauty;—these laborious farmers and practical republicans;—these dependent allies, who committed their all to our good faith, on the 'guaranty' of Gen. Washington, the 'assurance' of Mr. Jefferson, and the re-assurance of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Calhoun, sanctioned, as these several acts were, by the Senate of the United States;—these 'citizens of the Cherokee nation,' as we called them in the treaty of Holston; —these fellow Christians, regular members of Moravian, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches, *fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God*, are to be suddenly brought under the laws of Georgia, according to which they can be neither witnesses nor parties in a court of justice. Under the laws, did I say? It is a monstrous perversion to call such a state of things, living under law. They are to be made outlaws on the land of their fathers; and, in this condition, to be allowed the privilege of choosing between exile and chains.

"But who are the men that impose so fearful an alternative? and what is the government that hesitates to redeem its pledge? Is it some rotten Asiatic despotism, sinking under the crimes and corruptions of by-gone centuries, feeling no responsibility and regarding no law of morality or religion? Not so. It is a government which sprung into existence with the declaration "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." From a government thus established, this flagrant wrong is apprehended; and from a people who boast that they are the freest and most enlightened community on earth; who insist on the right of every community to govern itself; and who abjure the very idea of foreign dictation."

"Government has arrived at the bank of the Rubicon. If our rulers now stop, they may save the country from the charge of bad faith. If they proceed, it will be known by all men, that, in a plain case, without any plausible plea of necessity, and for very weak and unsatisfactory reasons, the great and boasting Republic of the United States of North America *incurred the guilt of violating treaties;* and that this guilt was incurred when the subject was fairly before the eyes of the American community, and had attracted more attention than any other public measure since the close of the last war.

"In one of the sublimest portions of Divine Revelation, the following words are written:

"*Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark: and all the people shall say, Amen.*

"*Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way: and all the people shall say, Amen.*

"*Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow: and all the people shall say, Amen.*

"Is it possible that our national rulers shall be willing to expose themselves and their country to these curses of Almighty God? Curses uttered to a people, in circumstances not altogether unlike our own? Curses reduced to writing by the inspired lawgiver, for the terror and warning of all nations, and receiving the united and hearty *Amen* of all people to whom they have been made known?

"It is now proposed *to remove the landmarks*, in every sense;—to disregard territorial boundaries, definitely fixed, and for many years respected;—to disregard a most obvious principle of natural justice, in accordance with which the possessor of property is to hold it, till some one claims it who has a better right;—to forget the doctrine of the law of nations, that engagements with dependent allies are as rigidly to be observed, as stipulations between communities of equal power and sovereignty;—to shut our ears to the voice of our own sages of the law, who say that Indians have a right *to retain possession of their land and to use it according to their discretion*, antecedently to any positive compacts; and finally, to dishonor Washington, the Father of his country,—to stultify the Senate of the United States during a period of thirty-seven years, —to burn one hundred and fifty documents, as yet preserved in the archives of State, under the denomination of treaties with Indians, and to tear out sheets from every volume of our national statute-book and scatter them to the winds.

"Nothing of this kind has ever yet been done, certainly not on a large scale, by Anglo-Americans. To us, as a nation, it will be a new thing under the sun. We have never yet acted upon the principle of seizing the lands of peaceable Indians, and compelling them to remove. We have never yet declared treaties with them to be mere waste paper.

"Let it be taken for granted, then, that *law will prevail.* 'Of law,' says the "judicious Hooker," in strains which have been admired for their beauty and eloquence ever since they were written, —'Of law, there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God; her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage; the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power. Both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, each in different sort and order, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.'"

In the midst of this discussion, it was necessary for Mr. Evarts to prepare the Annual Report and attend the annual meeting at Albany, where the duties of the Board, in view of the existing relations between the government of the United States and the Indian tribes, were a subject of anxious deliberation. No sufficient reason appeared for changing the course hitherto pursued and indicated in the preceding pages. The plan of a mission to China was also to be matured, and the missionary to be sent out under suitable instructions.

The publication of the Essays in the newspapers having been completed, they were immediately reprinted at Boston, in a pamphlet, with an appendix; and also at Philadelphia, at the expense of that eminent philanthropist, the late Roberts Vaux, and others. The author soon became known, and was at once recognised as the centre of the general movement that was now felt throughout the country. Letters of thanks, and earnest inquiries what was to be done, came in from different quarters. "I offer my sincere congratulations," wrote Mr. Vaux, "on the great movement respecting the poor Indians, which is now making in various parts of our country. It must have an effect. Thy labors have contributed essentially to this public sympathy; and the judgments of a great and influential class of the people are unequivocally pronounced. The national legislature must hear and forbear. We have had a large edition of the Essays of William Penn printed here, and I wish to know whether any copies of that admirable work have been sent in pamphlet form from Boston to Washington. We think it proper that each member of Congress be furnished with a copy." Another eminent individual, still living, wrote: "In the name of the sixty thousand Indians now threatened with ruin, and of humanity, justice, religion, and public faith, I tender the highest acknowledgments to WILLIAM PENN, for his unanswerable plea in behalf of the tribes in question. I speak the sentiments of thousands, and indeed, I must be permitted to add, of all candid men who have read this plea, when I say that it *is absolutely unanswerable.* Rarely indeed is it possible to make out so strong a case on any great question of national justice and good faith. I rejoice to learn that the plea has just been presented to the public in a pamphlet form. It ought to be distributed in every part of the land." "Only let us know what we can do, and I may venture to promise that it shall be done. Oh that we had a hundred men who would go through the land with all the fire of Peter the Hermit!" Another: "We are to hold a public meeting for prayer, in view of the present crisis of affairs between our national government and the Indians. The inquiry is made with much interest, What can be done to prevent the catastrophe impending? What can *we* do to avert from our nation the sin, and the shame, and the peril, into which the government seems determined to plunge us? I write to ask you whether any measures have been proposed—whether any expression of public feeling, by memorials to Congress, or otherwise, is practicable or desirable." A gentleman in New York: "I beg you to draft and send me such resolutions as may set forth the subject in its magnitude, and with its lofty claims upon the attention and sympathy of civilized man, here and abroad. I know of no one here capable of preparing these resolutions as they ought to be—no one indeed any where, but William Penn." And again: "I rejoice in the more favorable aspect of this Indian subject, and in the occasion there is for thankfulness that you have been enabled to do for it what was indispensable, and what Providence had prepared no one else to do." To the duties of the position in which the providence of God had now so evidently placed him, Mr. Evarts gave himself up to the utmost limit of his strength. At an early day he drew up "A Brief View of the Present Relations between the Government and People of the United States and the Indians within our National Limits;" which was submitted to influential individuals in the city of New York, and then printed and extensively circulated in the newspapers and otherwise, with their sanction. The object was, to bring within a convenient compass for popular use, the leading results of the Essays of "William Penn."

On the 7th of December, the first session of the 21st Congress was opened, and the next day Gen. Jackson's first message as President of the United States was sent to the two Houses, and published to the country. The positions assumed in that document were such as to justify the worst apprehensions in relation to the course which the Executive would pursue towards the Indians, and to make it still more evident than before, that, if the rights of those Indians and the national faith and honor were preserved at all, it could only be done by the most strenuous efforts to interpose the influence of a healthful public sentiment. No sooner had the message been generally read, than the way was prepared for public meetings and memorials to Congress. The people were ready, every where, to give their attendance and their names; and Mr. Evarts exerted himself, by active correspondence, to have the proceedings so arranged as to call forth most generally and effectively a full expression of the public mind. A few extracts from correspondence will show the progress of events.

FROM E. LORD, ESQ., TO MR. EVARTS.

New York, December 16, 1829.

"I write in great haste, to say, that I think the way is now open to have a powerful *public* meeting on behalf of the Indians, to petition Congress. I wish, therefore, for your advice in relation to the matter, and a draft of a petition as soon as may be."

TO E. LORD, ESQ.

Boston, December 19, 1829

"Your letter of the 16th came to hand this day, when I was sitting at the preparation of a petition. I wish I could put it into the mail this evening; but shall not be able. Extraordinaries excepted, I shall put it into the mail on Monday, and you will receive it on Wednesday morning. I suppose your meeting, from what you have said, will be on Wednesday night.

"Your letter encourages me much. Let me advise that an accurate account of the meeting and report of the speeches be made for immediate publication. I have not seen a single statement in William Penn contradicted. Since the publication of these numbers, the government has forborne to deny that the Cherokees have a *right* to stay; though that right is nugatory, if Georgia may extend her laws over the Indians.

"Since the publication of the *Brief View*, the government has altered the plan of governing the Indians in their new territory: but the plan of putting them all under white rulers, in one government, as described by William Penn, was urged by the former Secretaries of War, and by McK., as may be found in many documents. You will please to mention this to Mr. M. and others.

"There is one great evil to which the Indians are now exposed —viz. being frightened out of their rights before Congress and the Supreme Court can interfere in their behalf. An eye should be had to this evil in the contemplated public meeting. The President tells these tribes, that Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi have the right of bringing the Indians under their laws. The Indians think that the President knows, and that they must obey. Numbers, from this apprehension, begin to remove, or to make preparations for a removal. This is represented by the government as proof that the Indians are willing to remove. And thus one result of oppression is made a plausible excuse for continuing the oppression."

TO E. LORD, ESQ.

Boston, December 21, 1829.

"I send you the Memorial. It is long. You may make it shorter. It appears to me it will be well for the New York memorial to go into detail, and to be published. These details need respectable names. Afterwards, short memorials may be sent with effect through the country.

"Do not fail to write me the result of the meeting."

E. LORD, ESQ., TO MR. EVARTS.

New York, December 29, 1829.

"We had a noble meeting—nothing untoward of any sort occurred—the room was full, and uncommonly respectable—and a very deep impression was made. The memorial was adopted unanimously. Maj. Fairlie was sick and could not attend. Col. Trumbull's services in the chair were, on the whole, to be preferred. Indeed, nothing could have been more unexceptionable. The American and Daily Advertiser will publish the Memorial at length, and perhaps some other papers will do so. The speeches I am in hopes to get written out for publication. Maxwell's and Ketchum's were eloquent and spirit-stirring in a high degree. On the whole, the meeting was a successful and triumphant effort in behalf of the cause. I have received many congratulations to this effect to-day—most of my friends being aware that I had taken the chief responsibility of calling it.

"I am relieved from a greater degree of anxiety than I ever felt before for any matter of this nature. The last week or ten days has been a period of almost sleepless concern and exertion. So many were timid and hesitating, that the few who had promised to stand by almost held back. The men fixed on for chairman and secretaries from day to day, all declined or were sick, until yesterday afternoon; and at last I was told that I must be at the room prepared to be put in the chair, which I readily assented to. Just before the hour, Col. Trumbull was seen; and in the room, Mr. Sharpe, connected with the Dutch church, yielded to my solicitations to act as secretary; and finally it seemed not only to me but to others, that Divine Providence specially interposed to give favor and success to the arrangements and proceedings of the meeting.

"I shall endeavor to send you a copy of the memorial by the next mail. I directed one to be sent last night, but know not that it went. You will see that some slight amendments took place in it.

"I am sure you will rejoice in the result of this movement. I confess it encourages me much in regard to the Indians, and to our own government and country.

"Several thorough going partizans (editors and others) of the administration were present last evening; also, several of the New York Indian Board. But the meeting was too numerous and respectable, and gave tokens of approbation too decisive, to admit of any opposition, even by saying nay in a single instance."

TO E. LORD, ESQ.

Boston, December 31, 1829.

"Your letter of the 29th came to hand last evening, and gave me and my friends, (some of whom happened to be present,) great pleasure. I hope we are thankful to God for his kind interposition and direction of the business. Two copies of the printed memorial were also received.

"I suppose the copies of the memorial will generally be signed by the chairman and secretaries, and will have the resolution appended, calling upon the people to petition, &c. We shall be glad to receive a multitude of copies for circulation in New England.

"You have my sincere thanks for persevering. I have scarcely ever been deceived, as to the effect of measures upon the public mind, if an experiment could be fairly made. The only difficulty in this case is, the want of that direct and personal interest, which shall compel the people to think and act upon the subject. Such a state of things makes it necessary for the benevolent to work hard; but the labor is honorable. Let the world think of it, as the world is apt to think of measures relating to the great and permanent interests of mankind.

"Will you not have petitions to Congress to be signed by individuals, as well as by the presiding officers of meetings? It appears to me that the cause is well worth the trouble; and that you may find active committee men, who will undertake the service.

"Let me suggest that you and twenty others should write to Philadelphia, and urge a public meeting there, to be conducted under the auspices of able and enlightened men. Similar meetings should be held at Albany, Troy, Utica, Canandaigua, &c.

"As to prospects—I have great confidence that the measures of the Executive will not obtain the sanction of Congress—that no new territory will be set apart for Indians—and, in short, that nothing of a positive kind will be done. My fear is, that the Indians will be left to the tender mercies of Georgia ; that they will be bitterly persecuted ; and that they will be scattered in a state of despondency approaching to despair. I think they should be encouraged to hold on, till the voice of the country and the decisions of the Supreme Court shall compel Georgia to do them justice. If they do hold on, the struggle must be a long one ; and intelligent men in every part of the country must be made to think.

" You will not impute to me any vanity of authorship, when I say that many suggestions have been made, that William Penn, in pamphlet form, should be extensively distributed ; especially among leading men in the middle and southern States. In no other way, except by the distribution of books, can many of these leading men be reached.

" A stereotype edition has been proposed."

The New York Memorial (prepared, as the correspondence shows, by Mr. Evarts,) was immediately printed and circulated in all parts of the country. Meantime, he was actively engaged in preparations for a public meeting in Boston, which was attended by gentlemen from all parts of the Commonwealth, on the 21st of January, and again, by adjournment, on the 8th of February ; and which resulted in the adoption of a memorial to Congress,* and in the preparation of a Circular Letter to the citizens of Massachusetts, designed to secure their immediate and general co-operation.

In such employments, in correspondence on the subject of the Sabbath, and in the usual duties of his office, he was occupied at Boston till the last of March, when it was deemed advisable that he should again visit the seat of government. He arrived at Washington on the third of April, and was at once in habits of daily intercourse with those members of Congress and others, including the Cherokee delegation, who were particularly interested to sustain the rights of the Indians. He found the aspect of the cause doubtful, and the month that he spent there was a time of intense anxiety. He would have been more cheered by many favorable indications, and by the inherent strength of the cause, but for two considerations. In the first place, the Committees on Indian Affairs in the two Houses were so constituted as to give great advantage to those States in which efforts were making to remove the Indians. In each Committee, a majority of the members were from States directly interested in the acquisition of Indian lands, and on each Georgia was represented. These Committees had made elaborate reports, fully sustaining the policy of the administration. Again, the measure had become decidedly, and in spite of all efforts to prevent it, a party question. A member of Congress, a gentleman of some influence, and chairman of one of the most important Committees, was known to have said: "'Sir, we have *succeeded* in making the Indian subject a party measure. There may be some chicken-hearted fellows at the North, who will not stand by the party; but we shall carry the measure in both Houses; and in the lower House, by a majority of perhaps seventeen or twenty." This last circumstance weighed upon the heart of Mr. Evarts, not only as inauspicious in regard to the decision of this question, but as an instance and evidence of political depravity, most dishonorable in itself and most dangerous in its tendencies. "What should we think," said he, "of a juryman, who should predict that a plaintiff would lose his farm, because the jury were resolved to decide the suit, not on the merits of the title proved in court, but solely with a view to the effect of the decision upon a certain political party? But the present case is incomparably stronger. Here are 75,000 souls, in 15,000 families, whose farms, property, residence, attachments, country, government, laws, habits, customs, everything earthly, were to be torn from them, or confirmed to them, by the decision of Congress. The same decision would ultimately touch the interests of two or three hundred thousand other human beings, descendants of the original possessors of this continent. The decision could be properly made only by a regard to what is right and just in itself, and to the engagements by which the United States had bound themselves in the most solemn manner. The subject was not a new one. The government had acted upon it in hundreds of instances. The current of precedents had been perfectly uniform.

---

* Written, also, by Mr. Evarts.

All our great men, how much soever they had differed on other points, had thought alike upon this. The reputation of the country abroad, and with posterity, was thought to be deeply implicated. Yet all these considerations are disregarded. The whole matter is to be settled by the simple fact, '*We have succeeded in making it a party question.*' Who could have imagined, that a member of the American Congress, a man of some influence, and who supposes himself to have a great deal, would descend to the avowal of such baseness? And how deplorable is the fact, if the declaration which he made was substantially true!

"The friends of the Indians did all in their power to prevent the question of Indian rights being made a party question. There was no possible inducement for them to make it one. They regretted extremely that the administration had expressed any opinion upon it, and had not left it for the unbiassed decision of Congress. That, in the actual circumstances of the case, there should be some party influence, seemed inevitable; but that a direct attempt should be made to set aside all the precedents of fifty years, and withdraw the guaranty solemnly given to dependent tribes; that all this should be attempted, without any regard to law or conscience, treaty or honesty, ought not to have been expected. It should have been deemed morally impossible."

The following letter was written by Mr. Evarts to a friend in the Cherokee nation, and copies sent to several persons in the Indian country during the winter:

"The present critical condition of the Cherokees leads many of their friends in this part of the country, to wish that they may pursue the most judicious course of conduct; that they may not lose any thing by rash and unadvised measures, on the one hand, nor by negligence, apathy, and discouragement on the other.

"Their northern friends do not feel called upon to advise the Cherokees, on the question whether it will be for their interest to remove, or to remain on the land of their fathers. This question they ought to settle for themselves; and they have sufficient means of getting knowledge on the subject.

"We feel it to be perfectly right, however, to make suggestions, for the consideration of the Cherokees, in regard to the best manner of obtaining from the United States the fulfilment of all treaties. It is for the honor of our country, and for the benefit of all parties, that this important subject should be settled upon correct principles. And, in order to this, the Cherokees, Choctaws, and other tribes, should bear in mind the following things.

"1. The treaties of the United States should be constantly kept in the front of all represention on the subject. They should be often repeated, and in a tone of great earnestness. The Indians should not be satisfied with having told their story once to Congress. They must not presume that their story is fresh in the minds of members. It should be brought forward often; and urged, sometimes in the way of complaint against intruders, sometimes in the way of soliciting protection for the future; and these two things should be always urged, viz. that the treaties are plain, and that they were always confirmed, according to their obvious meaning, by agents of the government.

"2. These tribes should have some of their best men at Washington, during every session of Congress, till their affairs are settled;—men whom they can trust, who can neither be deceived, nor misled, nor frightened, by any agents or officers of the government. Letters should be written to these delegations, by every mail, keeping them well and truly informed of the state of feeling among their people at home.

"3. These delegations should employ able counsel, and insist on being heard before the Committees on Indian Affairs, and on being allowed to produce witnesses to show the real condition of their respective tribes; and, in this way, they should detect and expose the numerous falsehoods which are put into circulation by their enemies.

"All these tribes should understand that their best friends throughout the country are firmly of opinion, that if the government cannot protect the Indians where they are, they cannot protect them any where else. Let the Indians themselves be fully aware of this; and if they ever mean to make a stand for their rights, let the stand be made now. It can never be made so well hereafter.

"You can make any prudent use of these hints; it being my sincere desire that they may promote the cause of justice and humanity."

On the 6th of April, the debate on the Indian Bill commenced in the Senate. Its progress is detailed in the journal of Mr. Evarts.

"April 6. Washington. Received letters, which had been lying for me at the post-office, from missionaries in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations. Mr. Kingsbury thinks the law of Mississippi worse for the Indians than the law of Georgia; and that the system now pursued will prove the utter destruction of the Indians, whether they stay or remove. He supposes a majority of Congress will be against them; and yet he is unwilling to realize that the Indians will be abandoned and sacrificed. He cannot see whence deliverance is to come.

"I went to the capitol rather late, and found Mr. White* making his opening speech on the bill for the removal of the Indians. Nearly the whole of it I heard. There was nothing in it which is not perfectly familiar to all who have read on the subject. The scope of his argument was as follows:—Great Britain gave this continent, to a certain extent, to the colonies by charter. She did not consider the Indians as having any right to the soil. After the revolution, the States had the same right to the soil which Great Britain had before. This right belonged to the several States, and not to the general government. The treaty of Hopewell, (in 1785) was an encroachment upon the rights of the States of Georgia and North Carolina. They protested against it. When the general government was formed under our present constitution, the States acted in their sovereign capacity, and not the people in their individual capacity, or their aggregate capacity as a nation. The constitution is a compact, therefore, by which the United States guaranty to each State all the territory within its chartered limits. This guaranty to each State is anterior to any guaranty to the southern Indians, and inconsistent with it.

---

* Hon. Hugh White, Senator from Tennessee.

"The treaty of Holston, (in 1791) contains a guaranty to the Cherokees of all their lands not ceded. But the government had not the power to make such a treaty. A treaty is a compact between sovereign states—between communities foreign to each other. But the Indians were not foreigners. They were justly amenable to the laws of the several States, so far as the States should see fit to make laws for them.

"The present bill makes provision for the removal of the Indians. It facilitates their removal, though it does not constrain them to it. Some of them are capable of making good citizens in any State of the Union. But the majority cannot live under the laws of a civilized people. The experiment has been made by Indians on the reservations of previous cessions. They cannot remain with the whites. The provisions of this bill are intended for their benefit.

"This speech was extended through about two hours and a half. It contained the following admissions, which will not be without their good effect; viz.

"That it was the policy and the manifest intention of the government, from 1791 to the last treaty of 1819, to secure to the Cherokees the permanent possession of their lands; and that all the treaties were made upon this basis. The design was, to make them a civilized people—first herdmen, and then agriculturists.

"That there are among the Cherokees now, and perhaps some within the hearing of the speaker's voice, men whom he considered capable, both in point of intelligence and integrity, of representing a State on the floor of either house of Congress; and whom he should be willing, if they were citizens of Tennessee, to see on the floor of either house, as representing him and his fellow citizens.

"That he could easily conceive how honest men, both in and out of Congress, should differ on this subject; for he had been formerly of a very different opinion from the one which he now expressed. It was the consideration of the rights of sovereign States, that wrought this change in his mind.

"There was nothing bitter, or provoking, or ungentlemanly, in his speech. Nor was there anything striking or forcible. I observed that Mr. Frelinghuysen and Mr. Sprague took full notes, and paid strict attention.

"April 7, 1830. Mr. Frelinghuysen commenced his speech this day at half past twelve, and continued it two hours and twenty minutes, when he gave way to a motion for adjournment, and will finish his speech to-morrow.

"He began by expressing a regret, that the President of the United States had not followed the example of President Washington, and waited for the deliberations of the other branches of the government, instead of deciding questions which it did not belong to him to decide, thus endeavoring to forestall public opinion, and in fact prejudicing and greatly injuring the weaker party. He animadverted with considerable severity, upon the directions of the Secretary of War to bribe the Cherokee chiefs, by tampering with them privately, and offering them reservations of land and other rewards as the means of bringing about a cession of lands.

"He then entered upon the consideration of the subject, and contended that the Indians had a perfect right originally; that this right was admitted by the British government, by the American colonies, by the confederated States, and lastly, by the United States, in all treaties with Indians. He examined the treaties with some particularity.

"April 8. Mr. Frelinghuysen rose to continue his speech, at half past one, and spoke two hours and five minutes. He examined the treaties which had been made between Georgia and the Indians, and showed that she was forever debarred from denying them to be a separate people.

"As to Alabama and Mississippi, he placed these States in a curious predicament. He was led by the Report of the Senate to look at the manner in which these States were admitted into the Union, and found the facts to be these. It was stipulated in the compact of 1802, between the United States and Georgia, that whenever the territory between the west line of Georgia and the river Mississippi should be formed into a new State, it should not be admitted into the Union, unless it formally agreed to be admitted upon the basis of the famous ordinance of 1787—(Nathan Dane's ordinance,) in all respects, except in regard to the article forbidding slavery. When Mississippi applied in 1816, and Alabama in 1819, to be admitted, Congress prescribed, among other things, that these States should expressly agree to be admitted upon that ordinance; and the acts admitting them severally declared that they had expressly agreed to be admitted on the basis of the ordinance.

"When the ordinance is examined, it is found to contain a provision that the States thus admitted should never encroach upon, or invade, the lands, customs, rights, property, or liberty of the Indians, unless in a just and lawful war.

"This provision was pressed hard upon Alabama and Mississippi, and we cannot conceive how the senators of those States will answer him.

"On the whole, his speech to-day, was entirely triumphant, in every part. It pinched very hard. Messrs. Livingston, Tazewell, Forsyth, and White listened with constant attention.

"April 10. Yesterday I called, for the first time since my arrival, on Col. McK. If I could have avoided it, I would not have seen the man. He appeared somewhat embarrassed, when I went in. He introduced me to Mr. Bell, of the Indian Committee. After Mr. B. had retired, he said, 'Well, you have been laboring hard.' I asked him what he referred to. He replied, 'In writing the numbers of "William Penn;" but it all wont do—I understand the whole subject. I see through it all. These questions of abstract right are of no use. The Cherokees are like children in a house on fire. We must pull them out.'

"That is his old figure, which he displayed to me last year, and which he has since put into print. He went on:

"'The Indians have a right to their country, a perfect right,—as much so as any man has to his domicil; but—'

"I interrupted him to ask, why he did not, in all his writings, begin by saying that the Indians had a perfect right? Though exceedingly impudent, he looked a little embarrassed, and added: 'It would do no good—it is not in the power of man to defend them.'

"I said, with emphasis and in a tone of authority, Sir, it *is* in the power of man to defend them. If the President of the United

States had sent forth a proclamation, as General Washington would have done; if he had said with firmness, These Cherokees shall be protected; if he had declared that the laws should be rigidly enforced, and that the whole authority vested in him by the constitution should be exerted to preserve the national honor;—if these things had been done, not a Georgian would have ventured over the line. Is the world to be told that we cannot enforce our laws, and cannot fulfil our most solemn engagements?

"He said that there had always been trouble from intruders. I admitted that there had been some inconvenience; but said that it is now much diminished, and must be renewed, if the Indians are removed.

"We then talked awhile on other matters.

"Saturday evening, April 10. I have omitted to the last an article of intelligence which appears to me very sorrowful: but Providence may have something in view which we cannot comprehend.

"Yesterday a letter was received at the War Office, from Mr. Kingsbury, dated March 22d, stating that a treaty had just been signed, by which the Choctaws engaged to remove in a body.

"By a treaty, Col. McKenney understood a formal written engagement that they would form a treaty as soon as commissioners could be appointed to treat with them. From what I heard to-day, I am inclined to think an express was sent on, a week since, with a commission to form a treaty.

"Mr. Kingsbury does not appear to have been present, but wrote to secure the interests of the mission; as he was told, nothing had been said on that subject by the Choctaws. I cannot see any light coming out of this event, but doubtless light will come. The anti-Indians were greatly exhilarated by this event. Copies were immediately sent to the chairman of the Committee of each House.

"You will know in a moment, that the laws of Mississippi are the sole cause of this movement.

"11. Sabbath. Mr. ——, from Connecticut, preached on the nature of evangelical repentance and the obligations to it. He showed some tinges of the New Haven theology; such as were taken notice of by old-fashioned Christians, and such as would tend to impede his usefulness."*

TO REV. C. KINGSBURY, MAYHEW.

Washington, April 12, 1830.

"The advice which would have been proper when your letters were written, would be entirely too late now. I hesitated some, in my own mind, what would have been the best course for Col. Folsom to pursue; and, indeed, I told Mr. Holmes, when I saw him in New York about ten days ago, or twelve, that I thought it most prudent not to attempt to execute the laws. I now think, however, that a better plan would be, not to pay any attention to the laws of Mississippi. But these speculations are all in vain—it would seem that it is too late to do any thing for the Choctaws.

"Last Friday morning, the 9th instant, I called on Col. McKenney, of the Indian Office, and found that he had just received your letter of March 22d, stating that the Choctaws had signed a treaty, and that they were all ready to remove. This was the first notice which the government had received of the matter. It was very sorrowful news to me, as it came just at the time when the discussion of the Indian question had begun; and when we had considerable hopes that the rights of the Indians might be successfully defended in the House of Representatives, where a great debate is expected. I will not say that the friends of the Indians in each house will be disheartened by this event; but I fear that this will be the case.

"You must have gotten my letter from Boston about the time when your letter was dated, in which I advised that the Choctaws should wait and have the decision of the Supreme Court. There cannot be the least doubt that the Court would pronounce the laws of Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama unconstitutional; and these tribes would have preserved the lands of their fathers; but if they remove, it is impossible that they should ever again have a good title to their lands. They will always be obliged to remove, whenever the white people are disposed to crowd upon them. Poor, unhappy people! If they knew how to defend their own rights, they would not be thus injured and oppressed.

---

* On this subject of the New Haven theology, as he calls it, Mr. Evarts felt deeply, regarding the peculiar views expressed by Drs. Taylor and Fitch, which had been the occasion of much controversy, as erroneous and of very pernicious tendency.

"I wish to say to you, that the leaders of the Choctaws should do what they can to defend the interests of the people, if they do consent to a removal.

"1. Whatever compact they make, they should insist on its being called a treaty, and on its being ratified by the Senate of the United States.

"2. They should insist that no measures shall be taken for a removal, till the treaty shall have been thus ratified, and till the land assigned to the Choctaws beyond the Mississippi shall have been marked out.

"3. That the most solemn guaranty shall be given to the new country. This guaranty should be by *treaty*, and not by *law*. A law can be repealed next year.

"Though I suppose, if the Indians remove, nothing will defend them permanently; yet a treaty will defend them many years longer than a law would; and it will be much better security while it lasts.

"Again: if it should appear next winter, that the Choctaws were frightened into a treaty by an apprehension of the laws of Mississippi, it is very possible that the Senate will not ratify the treaty; but will say to the Indians, remain where you are. You need not be frightened out of your inheritance.

"Write to the Missionary Rooms, immediately on the receipt of this, if possible.

"May the Lord guide us all, and make us blessings to the poor Indians."

"April 12. I wish more petitions on both subjects [the rights of the Indians and the Sabbath mails] to be forwarded. The sluggishness and cowardice of the friends of the Sabbath are amazing. Col. Johnson said in his place, not long since, that there were four remonstrants against stopping the mail to one petitioner. I do not believe this; but there is four times as much zeal against religion as there is in its favor. I have seen, in a paper just come to hand, notice of a meeting being formally called at Nashville, to devise means of banishing Presbyterianism from the State. It is quite likely that Mr. Grundy * may know more of the malignant opposition to religion there, than we are aware of.

"April 17. One of the Representatives from Alabama told Coodey † that every shot of Mr. Sprague's speech yesterday told, and passed through the centre; and yet, he added, 'I must vote against you, or I shall be scalped when I go home;' meaning, by his constituents. Now what can we do, when men will act in this manner? The question is already as plain in the Senate as any question of human conduct can possibly be. Not one question of theft, robbery, or murder, in ten thousand, is so perfectly free from all doubt or cavil; not one bond in ten thousand that are collected or enforced by courts of justice, is so perfectly clear of all dispute; and yet it is expected that men will vote by platoons, in regular rank and file, according to party drilling, on this question of public faith. I have never before seen exactly such a commentary on human depravity.

"May the Lord avert the evil we apprehend.

"April 18. There are some things exceedingly dark in this matter of Indian rights. The Choctaw treaty would seem to have come out exactly at the wrong time. The fact is, that the government, by its public threats and its private agents, has advantages, which it is pressing to the utmost. To aid in this disgraceful affair of making all the powers of our great nation bear down upon the rights of these feeble tribes, Mr. Attorney General has given an opinion that all the separate improvements left by emigrants, belong to Georgia; and of course it follows that Georgians settling on these relinquished improvements, are not intruders. This single opinion, if practised upon, would drive all the southern tribes away in three years. Words are very feeble to express the indignation and abhorrence in which these tricks should be held by every honorable man.

"The Choctaw treaty is in the President's hands; I do not

---

* Hon. Felix Grundy, Senator from Tennessee, who had been urged, as a religious man, to aid the petitioners for the discontinuance of Sabbath mails, and had declined, under the influence of political friends.

† One of the Cherokee delegation, at Washington.

think it will be ratified; for I think that more than one third of the Senators will pronounce it to have been obtained under the influence of terror or misapprehension.

"I think of going to Richmond, by way of Norfolk, next Friday.* My cough is so obstinate, and my lungs so irritated and irritable, that I shall not speak on missions in public.

"Norfolk, April 25. As to the causes which have operated to bring up this discussion, so as to make anything like a stand against the measures of government, there is no doubt that the publication of William Penn is by far more operative than any other. Mr. F. has told me that nothing would have been done without it. And it is curious that it should have been published in the very best conceivable way: first, in the Intelligencer; then in other papers; then in a pamphlet. I found most abundant proof, that the distribution of the pamphlet among members of Congress had been very useful; not that I suppose all, or even half, had read it with any attention; but many *had*, and especially those who had the ability to influence others.

"The next cause was, the having such a man in the Senate as Mr. Frelinghuysen. Without his exertions, I think no regular opposition to the bill would have been made in the Senate. As the case now is, the discussion has gained much attention, and will command much more; but how much it will avail the poor Indians, cannot be foreseen.

"As to the operative causes on the other side, they are these two: 1. The southern interest, and the pledges of the President to support it. 2. The effort to preserve the integrity of the Jackson party. Both these very powerful principles are in constant operation against the Indians; and they are opposed only by a love of justice and a sense of integrity, with some little sense of shame; and, on the part of a few, some little dread of unpopularity.

"As to the Indian Board of New York, and the Baptist Board of Boston, and the writings of Cass,† &c., they do not all weigh a single feather; or, if they do, I am not able to perceive any evidence of the fact.

---

* To meet members of his family.

† The first named Board was a short-lived organization, formed for the purpose of aiding the policy of the Executive, and the other had taken the same position. Gen. Cass had written an article for the North American Review, in which, in opposition to views expressed by himself in the same Journal a few years before, he had, with singular inconsistency, endeavored to sustain those in power in their positions.

"Among the causes favorable to the Indians, should be mentioned the memorials in their behalf. These memorials have done much toward directing attention to the subject, and compelling members to think of it; and it may be said with great confidence, that if the people in the northern, middle, and western States had entered, with as much spirit as became them, into the business of petitioning, they might have secured the Indians forever in their rights. If this cause fails of a perfect and most triumphant vindication, it will fail solely from the apathy, and lukewarmness, and timidity, and laziness of those who are really friendly to the Indians, and would gladly preserve our national faith inviolate.

"Richmond, April 28, 1830. Did not learn the disposition of the Indian bill in the Senate till this morning; am greatly distressed and mortified, for our country's sake, that the vote stands worse than I had thought in any degree probable.

"It seems that all the Jackson men, (with the exception of Gen. Smith, who was absent,) voted for the bill and against the amendments, except that Mr. Barnard voted for the most important amendments, as he had said he should do. And besides this organized and unbroken party, three Adams men joined them on every vote. In regard to each of these men, we had some misgivings at times; but the case was so clear, that I could not think it probable that more than one out of the three would prove recreant to the cause of justice, and honor, and good faith.

"Votes against the Indians: States directly interested, and pledged by doings of the State Legislatures, namely,—Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee,—all slave States,	10
"The slave States of Lousiana, South Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky,	8
"Free States of Illinois, Indiana, and New York,	6
"Half of Missouri, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New Hampshire,	4
	28

"Without that disregard of human rights which is to be found among slave-holders only, nothing could have been done against the Indians; and without the base surrender of all personal dignity and independence to the capricious mandate of party discipline, the slave-holders would not have received aid enough to carry their point.

"When I left Washington, our hopes were strong in regard to the House of Representatives. But from the specimen of the strength of party bonds in the Senate, I augur ill of the House.

"It will be no matter of surprise, if the bill should be crowded onward by far inferior business, till a few days before the close of the session, and then urged through by the previous question. I would have every thing done that can be done; but it seems as if Providence was at war with the Indians; and that very little success is likely to attend efforts made in their behalf. The Lord will vindicate his own plan; though many of his doings are inscrutable to us.

"If the misdeeds of our rulers could fall directly and heavily upon the electors, who send mere machines, instead of men, and worthless demagogues, instead of reflecting, responsible statesmen, there would be some consolation in it, and a remedy might be hoped for; but the evil falls generally on the innocent, or those who are least deserving of ill.

"I have conversed with many men of sense in regard to the monstrous evils attending our government; and they all say there is no hope of relief, except by means of raising the moral and intellectual character of the common people. How this is to be done, with all the demoralizing and deteriorating processes now at work, is not very easily seen; especially when we consider how tame and timid, and how vacillating and inconstant—how yielding and compromising—nine tenths of even the religious people are on all political questions which involve moral and religious considerations.

"The Lord knows how to hush all these contending elements to peace. May he soon exert his power, and subdue the world to himself.

"Richmond, May 29, 1830. Mr. Frelinghuysen wrote to me a line after the vote on Saturday, in which he said he felt very sad. I do not wonder that he did. The framers of the Constitution placed more confidence in the Senate, probably, than in any other part of the complicated machine of our government—not even excepting the Supreme Court. The Senate was designed to be the special guardian of the faith and honor of the United States; and if this guardian proves faithless to its high trust, where can we look for redress? The Supreme Court is, indeed, the tribunal where the proper interpretation of treaties is to be sought; but in nine instances out of ten, the mischief of violated faith will be done before the decision of that Court can be had, and the evil is therefore remediless."

No language, Mr. Evarts said on another occasion, could do justice to the feelings of the friends of the Indians after this vote. "They viewed the measure as altogether unparalleled in the history of free governments. The smallness of the temptation to such an outrageous breach of faith seemed to render the whole business unaccountable. Bonaparte might be expected to break two or three treaties with Spain and Holland, for the sake of bringing millions of men and hundreds of millions of money under his control. Here was a great temptation. But we have broken scores of treaties with dependent Indians, and descended to the most pitiful subterfuges and evasions, not to augment our national power and resources—not to avoid any danger—but simply to appease a groundless clamor, and make an insignificant acquisition of new lands."

"May 1. Richmond. Went with Dr. Rice to Chief Justice Marshall's, and was received by him with his accustomed affability. He is very plain in his manners, his dress, and his mode of living. Though slender in person, the freshness of his countenance and the liveliness of his eye indicate good health. He is now seventy-three years old. I was exceedingly glad to have it in my power to pay my respects to this venerable man. The most visible traits in his character are simplicity and modesty. I introduced several topics on which I supposed there would be no impropriety in his expressing an opinion, but said nothing about the Indian question, for obvious reasons."

"The interest on the Indian question has rather increased than otherwise, since I left Washington. Many hopes are entertained that the bill will be defeated in the lower house. I confess I have very few hopes. Still, every effort is to be made. The friends of the Indians suppose that some members would rather leave the subject without acting upon it till next session, than vote against the bill now; especially they think this will be the case after two or three days discussion."

On the 5th, Mr. Evarts returned to Washington, to resume his labors at that post of anxious observation.

"7. I am recovered of the irritation of my lungs, and am as well as usual; but think I must ride a good deal on horse-back the coming summer."

"May 8, 1830. This day Mr. Frelinghuysen called up his resolution in relation to Sabbath mails, and, I am sorry to say, I was absent. It appeared very unlikely that he would be able to do this, as some unfinished business of importance, it was supposed, would occupy the time.

"I have heard from a spectator, that he spoke an hour and a half, or more, and very much to the purpose. Mr. Livingston replied, in a speech of three quarters of an hour, in which he gained no credit. It was a low piece of bar-room talk about church and state, the blue laws of Connecticut, hanging witches at Salem, &c. &c. Mr. F., in a short reply, made Mr. L. rather ashamed of his tirade.

"On motion of Mr. Bibb, the resolution was laid on the table, where it will probably always lie. Considering the state of feeling here, no better course on this subject could be pursued, than the one which has been pursued. I consider it certain, that nothing will be done by Congress to gratify the petitioners, till the people are better; and especially, till the religious community are more spirited and more united on the subject. Dr. Rice is of opinion, that while we petition without any well grounded hope of success, the effect is to unite the wicked and make them feel their own strength, and get them more and more committed against the Gospel. The religious community, if sufficiently active and united, could carry their point; but as they will be neither active nor united, the case is very different.

"Monday May 10. I have been in doubt whether I ought to set out for home next Friday, or to stay longer for the sake of hearing the debate on the Indian question.

"The arguments for setting out are, that we should rather be at home—that I might be there during election week—that I wish to be there in season for writing on the Indian question,* &c. &c.

"On the other hand, as I shall have staid till the discussion begins, it would seem a pity to leave it, if I can do any good by staying. Mr. Frelinghuysen thinks I had better stay. There may be a use hereafter, in writing the history of these discussions; and I could do it much better, if present, than by information derived from any other source. Besides, it is important to form an opinion whether more is to be done for the Indians, or they are to be abandoned. This opinion can be better formed here, and during the progress of the discussion, than elsewhere, and at any other time."

"On the 13th of May the Indian Bill was taken up in the House of Representatives, and Mr. Bell, chairman of the Committee, commenced the debate. The result was still regarded as doubtful, the most careful estimate giving a majority of two or three, perhaps, in favor of the bill.

"14. I counted the members after Mr. Bell had spoken an hour, and again near the close: there were sixty-five at one time, and sixty-three at the other, within the bar—out of more than two hundred. Very few paid much attention—scarcely any but those who expect to speak.

"15. Mr. Storrs brought forward most interesting new matter from the Executive Journal of the Senate in 1793, and from Mr. Jefferson's account of the deliberations of the Cabinet at that period, by which it appeared that the Cabinet came to the deliberate decision that the Indian tribes generally should be distinctly and solemnly informed that this government acknowledged them to be the rightful proprietors and true owners of the land occupied by them and not sold to the United States; that they had a perfect right to retain their own government and sovereignty upon these lands forever; and that all which the United States claimed was, the exclusive power of pre-emption, whenever the Indians should be disposed to sell.

---

* The Editor of the North American Review (Hon. Alexander H. Everett,) not being satisfied with the position held by the Review, in consequence of the admission by the previous Editor, of an article by Gov. Cass, (mentioned before,) favoring the views of the administration, had applied to Mr. Evarts for an article on the subject.

"16. Sabbath. Sermon by Mr. Young, of Lexington, Kentucky, from Hebrews xi. 1. On one point he was very clear, namely, that this verse is not a definition of faith, but a description of some of its effects; as it is called in another place, *the victory that overcometh*, &c. Perhaps there is no passage of Scripture which is more generally considered a definition than this verse; but I believe it will be found that there is not a metaphysical or logical definition in the New Testament. Certain characteristics and effects of faith, the new birth, sin, love, &c. &c., are found stated in many different places; and if we would have a definition, we must make it for ourselves by considering, comparing, and ascertaining the correct meaning of all these passages. Of late years I have thought much of this subject.

"As to the issue of the Indian question, I have this only ground of hope left, that God will not leave us as a people to such guilt and infatuation as would be involved in the success of the bill from the Senate. On any calculation of numbers and probabilities, made without reference to what God will do, I cannot sustain a hope that the bill will be defeated. And our views of what God will do, are very dim and short-sighted. Of one thing you may be sure—and that is, that it will be your duty to pray earnestly and much on the reception of these lines. Probably the fate of the bill will be decided about the 26th instant; possibly, sooner.

"Mr. Frelinghuysen's discussion of the Sabbath mail question is spoken of with great approbation by those who heard it. His reply to Mr. Livingston was very happy. Mr. Hillhouse * was delighted with Mr. F.'s argument in favor of the Sabbath, and said it would console all the pious people of the country, who had been compared to Cataline, Arnold, and Judas.

---

* The venerable JAMES HILLHOUSE, of Connecticut, formerly of the Senate, and then, at an advanced age, on his last visit to the seat of government.

"Yesterday I had a conversation with Mr. Grundy on the subject of the Sabbath, having requested an introduction for that purpose.

"May 18, 1830. To-day Mr. Evans, of Maine, spoke on the Indian bill three hours. Mr. Huntington, of Connecticut, two hours and three quarters; and I left Mr. Johns, of Delaware, speaking. All these are against the bill. The two first were good speeches, and I have no doubt the last will be, or *is*, if now closing. The difficulty is, that nearly all the friends of the bill absent themselves, while the opposers of it are speaking. To Mr. Huntington's conclusive arguments there probably were not five attending who are expected to vote for the bill; although it is said one hundred are known to be in favor of it. Probably about two hundred will be present when the decisive vote is taken.

"There is much talking and planning out of doors on the subject. It is said confidently that all Pennsylvania will go against the bill; and some of our friends are as confident that, if she does, the measure will be defeated. But I cannot encourage much confidence—only enough to urge to incessant prayer, and a resolution to do whatever can be done to mitigate the evil, should it come upon us.

"19. Not thinking that anything important would take place, I did not return to the Capitol after tea last evening. It was, however, a most interesting time. Several amendments were rejected; but one was adopted in Committee, which, if sanctioned by the House, will be, in some respects, of inestimable value. It goes to secure the Indians in all their rights, as guaranteed in compacts, treaties, and engagements between themselves and the United States. It was offered by Mr. Ramsey, of Pennsylvania, and had nearly all the votes of that State.

"The previous question may now be called for at any moment; and this would cut off all amendments, as no one has yet been adopted by the House. The previous question will certainly be called for this evening, unless the friends of the bill are afraid to call for it.

"We have various alternations of hope and fear. It has been whispered to me confidentially that all the Pennsylvania delegation, except one, will vote for a substitute for the whole bill, to be offered by way of amendment by Mr. Hemphill, when the question now under debate is disposed of.

"Before 12, the House took up the subject. The regular question was, on adopting the amendment reported to the House by the Committee of the Whole. To this Mr. Storrs offered an amendment, which is now under consideration. It is to this effect, namely, that in all negotiations with the Indians, they shall be treated with as nations, and not as individuals.

"On this question Mr. Bates and Mr. Everett have delivered speeches of about three hours each—both of them good; but Mr. Everett's, very able, and more likely to have an effect than anything which has been spoken. It did not dwell much upon treaties, &c., but upon the inexpediency, the cruelty, and the expensiveness of this course of measures.

"Mr. Wilde is now speaking. I heard his beginning, which was a good deal more moderate, I have no doubt, in consequence of the criticisms on his former speeches. The hopes of the friends of the Indians have greatly increased within the last twenty-four hours; but some of these friends even now have no hope. Mr. Hemphill's contemplated amendment has been read for the information of the House. It is a complete substitute, authorizing the President and Senate to appoint three commissioners, from States who have no interest in the question, to visit these tribes, and the country west of the Mississippi, and report facts to Congress—and appropriating $20,000 to defray the expenses.

"The previous question was called for at ten minutes past 10; but the motion was superseded by the motion to adjourn, which was carried, 91 to 82.

"20. No progress to-day in the Indian bill. It is said that even the Georgians will vote for Mr. Ramsey's amendment, thinking that the bill will not pass without it, and saying that they do not care a cent about the amendment. If this should prove true, I consider much gained. The faith of treaties would be preserved by the letter of the law, though I have no doubt it would be violated in practice. But the great gain would be this: We could, with the blessing of God, hold the drowning honor of the nation by the hair above water, till we could get strength to pull it out. I have never felt so deeply, as since I have been here, the indescribable infamy of the deed, which a weak infatuated administration is so desirous of perpetrating.

"If we could only have a respite, all our friends here think we could defeat the measure; and that the Indian question may be made, in some States, to exert an influence on the election of members to Congress next fall. And if there can be time for the Supreme Court to decide, the nation will stand by the decision of that tribunal, and will defend the Indians.

"21. You will wish to know how we feel. I am afraid to hope, especially since the result in the Senate, lest I should experience a cruel disappointment. The countenances of our friends, however, are brightening with hope; while the Georgians are obviously and greatly alarmed for the fate of the bill. I would gladly do all I am able, and then submissively wait the Divine will.

"May 22, 1830. To-morrow is the Sabbath. We have reason to think that great exertions will be made in private by the Georgians. How much they will be aided by the powers of hell, I do not know; but I do know, that there is One, who rules over all. He can direct the hearts of men, so as to accomplish his designs. If he shall see fit to give up this nation to blindness of mind and hardness of heart, it needs no prophet to say that we shall suffer extreme calamities. May the Lord avert them.

"On Monday, at ten, the House meets. One hour is occupied in resolutions. Soon after eleven, the Indian Bill will probably be taken up; and its fate will probably be decided before the House adjourns.

"23. I would not have you suppose that I think the passage of the bill with Mr. Ramsey's amendment a small evil. Far from it. The evil to the Indians will be tremendous. But there will be more scope for exertion, than if the bill should pass as it came from the Senate. I would humbly and submissively wait the developement of the Divine will in regard to this matter. The Lord is King in Zion, and let his name be praised.

"May 24. At half past eleven this morning, the contest on the Indian bill began. The last thing which was done last week, on this subject, was a motion for the previous question, which motion was suspended by a motion to adjourn, which prevailed. Of course the motion for the previous question was the first thing to be attended to. A call of the House was demanded, and the call was taken by ayes and noes. This took half an hour. Nearly all voted for the call, which was then made. I think 193 members were present. [N. B. 204 are supposed to be in the city.] On seconding the call for the previous question, 78 arose. This not being a majority, the call for the previous question was not seconded.

" A debate then began on Mr. Storrs's amendment. After a while he withdrew his amendment, alleging that he would make it a question, if he deemed proper, after the proposed amendment of Mr. Hemphill should have been before the House.

" The debate continued on Mr. Ramsey's amendment. Mr. Lewis, of Alabama, made a most violent speech. He rallied the Jackson party. He said this was a party matter of the opposition. That they (the opposition) said that this was a favorite measure of the administration, and if this measure were not carried, the administration would be down—and, added he, *they say truly.* He said, that those members, who were chosen to support the party, would betray the party and their constituents, if they did not support the administration.

" He violently attacked Mr. Storrs and Mr. Everett. Mr. S. disdained a reply, and was perfectly good natured. Mr. E. made a very short and a very good reply.

"Mr. Vinton next made a very good speech of an hour, or more, on the impolicy of the measure. This brought us to three and a half o'clock.

" The previous question was then called by one of the Georgia party. A call of the House was made—the absentees reduced to six—who are said to be three on each side.

" The question was then put on seconding the previous question. It was not seconded, ayes 93—noes 99. It was supposed that all the noes will vote for Mr. Hemphill's amendment. This is considered a very favorable indication. Mr. Lumpkin just told Mr. Storrs that the bill will be defeated. The Lord grant it.

"Mr. Wayne commenced a long speech at five, and is still speaking, half past six."

Alas for the hope expressed in the foregoing extract! The sheet was sent on to his associates by the intended mail with the following Postscript:

"P. S. I have the unspeakable pain and mortification of saying that the Indian bill passed to a third reading at ten o'clock—ayes 102, nays 97. This is the decisive vote. H. W. Dwight voted for it.

"May 25. I ought to have said last evening, that after Mr. Wayne's speech, which lasted till seven, Judge Spencer spoke with great energy an hour.

"My postscript assured you of the melancholy fact that the bill passed to a third reading, by a majority of five. It was supposed that four, who voted with that majority, would have preferred the amendment of Mr. Hemphill, and would have carried that amendment, if the previous question had not been carried. That question having been carried, they preferred voting for the bill to voting against it. Mr. Dwight and three Pennsylvanians were probably of that number.

"When Judge Spencer closed, the previous question was called for—and not seconded, the vote being ninety-seven ayes, and 98 noes.

"Soon after, Mr. McDuffie said that whatever we might think on the subject, Georgia would not recede, and if the House interposed in the only way in which it could constitutionally, blood would be shed, and the House would be responsible. He, therefore, moved the previous question. This was moved for the fourth time yesterday; and the ayes and noes were taken thirteen times, as one of the clerks told me.

"On Mr. McDuffie's motion, the House divided, and there were ninety-eight and ninety-eight, and the Speaker decided in favor of taking the previous question, which was taken by ayes and noes—ninety-nine and ninety-nine (two having come in,) and the Speaker decided in the affirmative, making one hundred to ninety-nine.

"The main question was then put, and decided as I mentioned yesterday, 102 to 97. Mr. Dickinson, of Troy, having come in, and making, with the Speaker, just 200; and I believe these are all who are expected.

"If Mr. Dickinson, who came from a sick bed between nine and ten o'clock, had arrived two minutes earlier, he would have prevented the previous question; and if the vote had been taken on Mr. Hemphill's amendment, the most probable supposition is, that it would have stood 101 to 98, in which case the Speaker's vote would not have been required, as it would have had no effect.

"After the decision last night, I went to Mr. Clayton's quarters to engage him to speak in the Senate, where I found our friends in tolerable spirits, after the defeat, and determined to renew the war to-day, on the third reading.

"Accordingly, as soon as the previous business was disposed of, the Indian bill was taken up and read. Mr. Hemphill moved that the House should go into a Committee of the whole; and that the Committee should be instructed to report the bill with his amendment. The House was interrupted by the impeachment of Judge Peck; and when the subject was resumed, the previous question was called for, seconded 96 to 96; and the Speaker decided in the affirmative. The previous question was then taken by ayes and noes, and decided, ayes 98, noes 99—the Georgia side, in all these cases, being in the affirmative. So the previous question was not carried. Two members were out of the way purposely, who will vote for Mr. Hemphill's amendment.

"If the vote could have been taken this afternoon, on the amendment, it would have stood 100 and 100; at least, that is the most probable estimate. Ninety-nine members voted against the previous question. All these would have voted for the amendment, except Mr. Dwight; and the two absent members would have been present, making 100.

"Mr. Dwight engaged yesterday to vote for the amendment; though he voted in favor of the bill; but to-day he says he will not vote for the amendment, though he voted against the previous question, in order, as he says, to keep the bill open for other amendments. To-morrow, I presume, he will vote for the previous question; and the bill will pass as before, 102 to 97. The two other members could keep off the previous question; but they will not; as they will not be responsible to their constituents for delaying and defeating private bills, which is the consequence of prolonging this struggle.

"As the case now stands, we suppose just half the House to be really opposed in feeling to the bill; though three will vote for the bill, rather than give a direct vote against it.

"I need not say how mortified, ashamed, indignant, and distressed we are at the conduct of Mr. Dwight. He might, probably, even now save the Indians.

"May 26. As I predicted yesterday, the bill passed the House, 102 to 97, at a quarter past one to-day; and the Senate concurred in the amendments at a quarter past three; so that the bill only wants the signature of the President to become a law.

"Several amendments to the amendment of Mr. Ramsey were tried in the Senate; but without success—one by Mr. Frelinghuysen, against State encroachments, and in favor of protection till the Indians choose to remove; one by Mr. Sprague, that treaties should be carried into effect, according to their true intent and meaning; and one by Mr. Clayton, that the operations of the Act should be confined to the Cherokees in the State of Georgia. All these were rejected by the same votes as were given in favor of the bill a month ago; that is, so far as members were present.

"Mr. Dwight told Mr. Sprague yesterday afternoon, that he would vote for Mr. Hemphill's amendment; so we may fairly say that he and Messrs. Ramsey, Ford, and Scott, in addition to the ninety-seven who voted against the bill, would have made 101 in favor of that amendment, leaving the same ninety-eight against the amendment, who voted for the previous question yesterday. But our friends could not get a trial on the amendment, on account of the recurrence of the previous question.

"It was certainly a great weakness in the four men whose names are mentioned above, that they should have voted for the bill, after publicly and solemnly and perseveringly having shown their preference for a bill radically different. But the three Pennsylvanians had probably committed themselves, and they are decidedly for the administration; and possibly they were satisfied, in great part, by the amendment of Mr. Ramsey, which had been adopted. They actually made a struggle for the Indians. But as to Mr. Dwight, I say nothing.

"The votes of the several States stood as follows, (reckoning the Speaker, who three times gave a casting vote in favor of the bill,) on the final passage, and on the passage to a third reading.

	Ayes.	*Noes.*
New Hampshire,	6	0
Maine,	2	3
Vermont,	0	5
Massachusetts,	1	12
Connecticut,	0	6
Rhode Island,	0	2
New York,	16	15
New Jersey,	0	6
Pennsylvania,	7	15
Delaware,	0	1
Virginia,	15	6
Maryland,	5	3
North Carolina,	8	5
South Carolina,	9	0
Georgia,	7	0

	Ayes.	*Noes.*
Alabama,	3	0
Mississippi,	1	0
Louisiana,	1	1
Missouri,	1	0
Tennessee,	8	1
Kentucky,	8	4
Illinois,	0	1
Indiana,	2	1
Ohio,	2	11
	102	97
Add the Speaker, making 16 from Virginia,	1	
	103	

"Thus the matter stands, in fact: but if Mr. Hemphill's amendment *could have been tried,* four are to be deducted from one column and added to the other; making the real sense of the House (including the Speaker) to be, for the Indians, 101; against them, 99.

"But the Lord ordered it otherwise.

"I hope to leave this place on Friday; but shall write again to-morrow.

"It is a curious fact, that the Pennsylvania Jacksonians went so generally for the Indians, and the New York Jacksonians universally, I think, against them. I can account for it only as an honor conferred by Providence on Pennsylvania, as a consequence of the upright conduct of the founder of that State, in his treatment of the natives.

"May 27. I spent a great part of this forenoon in consultation with Mr. Wirt and the Cherokees, in regard to their matters. Though I wish exceedingly to leave this place, I do not see how I can do so till next Monday; and then perhaps it will be impossible to find conveyance, as seats are even now taken for that day in all public vehicles.

"In this conjuncture of affairs, the Cherokees need advice and assistance; and to leave them now, would be to lose the opportunity of doing much good.

"My family and the Committee and all at the Rooms may be assured that I wish to get away from this place more than they wish to have me.

"To-day I learned that the Maysville Road bill has been returned by the President, with his objections. Several who voted for the Indian bill, now say that they would vote against it; and it is estimated that such is the effect of returning the Maysville Road bill, that the Indian bill would now be rejected by a majority of ten votes, and some say twenty. But it is too late. In returning this bill, the President has come out against internal improvements, of certain kinds at least; and thus has offended many of his friends. Had he signed the act, he would have offended the South, and perhaps the Van Buren party generally. He kept back the bill as long as he could, in order to get the Indian bill out of the way; but this is the last day, and had it not been for the previous question, either Mr. Hemphill's amendment would have been adopted, or the discussion would have been prolonged till to-day, when the whole project would have been overthrown. Our friends were aware of all this; but nothing more could have been done by the great body of our friends than was done. I never knew men feel the solemnity of an occasion more.

"I have seen a considerable number last evening and to-day, who think that there is great reason to hope for an expression of public opinion, that will compel the government to be cautious, and will ultimately vindicate the rights of the Indians. They say that if the Cherokees submit quietly to the encroachments of Georgia for a year, and seek redress in a legal way only, they will be secured in their possessions ever afterwards.

"Some say that there will be such a feeling among the people, as will secure the repeal of the law next winter; or, at any rate, prevent any more appropriations.

"All are of opinion that a great effort should be made to enlighten the people, and call forth a strong expression of their opinion on the subject.

"May 29. I have spent a considerable part of this day in Mr. Wirt's company with the Cherokees. It seems extremely important to our country and to the world, that we extricate ourselves from the disgraceful predicament in which we are placed by the passage of the Indian bill.

"At times I am exceedingly cast down as to the result; but our friends here are many of them very confident that the people of the United States will insist on the President's retracing his steps. Some think the act will be repealed the next session of Congress; or, at any rate, that Congress will appropriate no more money to this object.

"It seems a most remarkable Providence, that the bill should pass, when a majority present shewed themselves to be really and obstinately opposed to it; and that it passed by a majority of five, when the very next day, as is confidently stated, at least twelve who voted for it, would have voted against it; in which case the vote would have been, ayes 90—noes 109. No one doubts that it would have been rejected. This strange state of things should make us stand astonished at the ways of Providence.

"We had many doubts whether the Indian cause did not suffer by delay; but I am now convinced that all the delay was serviceable to our cause; and that we only wanted a little more delay. We gained by the argument constantly; and the enemy was entirely silenced. Is not this some indication that we shall gain before the people?

"If the Indian bill had been discussed before the tariff, we should not have had Pennsylvania on our side. It was a great triumph to detach that State from the Jackson ranks. The *veto* upon the Maysville Road has nearly completed what the Indian bill began. The administration party is in a very disjointed state; and the weakness of the cabinet is daily more and more apparent. But all this does not save the poor Indians; and I have great fears that they will be destroyed, at the expense of a fearful accumulation of national guilt."

"My comfort is," said Mr. Evarts to a member of Congress at his side, when the final vote on the bill was announced, "my comfort is that God governs the world; and my hope is, that when the people of the United States come to understand the subject, there will a redeeming spirit arise; for I will not believe that the nation is yet lost to truth and honor."

With such feelings he left Washington and hastened to his beloved home, and to the Office Rooms, which had been for so many years the scene of his most pleasant labors, but which he was no more to visit without a weight of anxiety and care in regard to the Indians, which preyed upon his health, and which he was able to throw off only when he had become so feeble that labor in the cause was obviously, for him, no longer a duty.*

On his return he had, in New York, called together a few gentlemen for an interchange of views on the Indian question, when it was agreed that the friends of the Indians ought to hold themselves in readiness to petition the President of the United States on their behalf whenever the same should be expedient; and a committee, of which he was chairman, was appointed, to watch the progress of events and make any public statements that might be necessary. A similar arrangement was at this same time adopted in regard to the question of Sabbath Mails.

After his arrival at home, on one of the first days in June, not yet despairing of the republic, he immediately engaged in new efforts to avert, if possible, the impending calamity. He edited a volume of speeches on the Indian Bill, embracing the leading arguments against it, with an Introduction, and exerted himself to secure for it, and for separate speeches, an extensive circulation. He prepared a careful history of the Indian Bill, which was published in seven numbers in the New York Observer. He wrote an article for the North American Review, designed to put the question in its true light before the literary classes of the community, and as a statement of the case for other countries and for future ages. He endeavored, in the official journal and at the annual meeting of the Board, to give a proper direction and impulse to the feelings of his associates and of the Christian public. He kept up an active correspondence on the subject, endeavoring to prepare the way for more public efforts during the approaching session of Congress. And finally, near the close of the year, he sent to the National Intelligencer, under the signature of "William Penn," two eloquent papers on the state of the Indian question and the duties of the people of the United States in regard to it. These papers appeared just before the meeting of Congress, and were the last, as they are perhaps the most eloquent, public appeal, that he lived to make upon this subject.* He often said that he intended fully to clear himself from this great iniquity. It was under this sense of urgent duty that he labored, as was shown most impressively to those most intimate with him, and the witnesses of his daily life. There was perhaps no other subject which, for the last two years of his life, and even during his last sickness, he so constantly and solemnly remembered in his prayers. That sense of dependence on God, and that reference of all to the divine will, so frequently expressed in his letters, he habitually felt. On the morning of the day when the final vote on the Indian bill was to be taken in the House of Representatives, as he was entering the capitol with a Christian friend, he remarked that God only could direct to a right decision on that momentous question, and requested his friend to retire with him to a vacant room for prayer. And after the vote was taken, feeling, as he said, that nothing but a special divine interposition could save the Indians from ruin, they again retired, at his suggestion, to the same room for the same purpose. And so it ever was, in regard to this and to all subjects, however great his anxiety might be, his heart instinctively turned to God in prayer, and in that he found relief. Having done, in the fear of God, what seemed his duty, and made known his requests to his Heavenly Father, he strove to subdue every rebellious feeling as to the result, and to be quiet as a child. Alas!—when good faith is broken, and justice trampled under foot, and the poor and dependent robbed and perhaps destroyed utterly, and all by one's own dear country—how hard!

---

* During this anxious month, besides the labors indicated in the text, Mr. Evarts prepared two important documents relating to the Indian question, one of which has never been published at all, and the other not as from his pen. They will be found, with a sketch of his more public efforts to avert the impending wrong, in the Appendix.

---

* A Memorial of the Board to Congress, written in January, was his last effort in the cause.

CHAPTER IX.

LAST PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS, SICKNESS AND DEATH. 1830—31.

THE Annual Report of the Board for the year 1830, was the twentieth; the first ten having been written by Dr. Worcester, and the second ten by Mr. Evarts,—a fact which he mentioned to one of his associates at the time, wishing it to be remembered. This circumstance, together with the events that had brought the cause into such relations to men in public life and to the community, gave a peculiar direction and impulse to his thoughts. He felt more deeply than ever, how needful it was that the nation and its government should act under a sense of religious responsibility. The Report, prepared in this state of mind, and doubtless with a lively apprehension that it might be his last work of the kind, opens with a glance at some considerations suggested by the close of "one fifth of a century" of labor in the cause.

> "Twenty years have elapsed, since the first organization of this Board; and almost nineteen, since the first embarkation of missionaries from America to distant parts of the heathen world. In June, 1810, the attention of our churches was suddenly arrested by the self-consecration to the missionary service of four young men, who were then members of the Theological Seminary at Andover. The Board, under its present designation, was immediately instituted; and the first annual meeting was held in September of the same year.
>
> "One fifth of a century has already passed away. The greater part of the early members of the Board now sleep with their fathers; and of those who for several years had the principal agency

in conducting the executive business of the institution, the present Corresponding Secretary is the only survivor. It would seem proper, after the lapse of such a period, to look back upon the path through which Providence has led us, and to derive from the retrospect, such lessons of instruction and encouragement as it is calculated to afford.

"It is an obvious remark, but a most important one, that all the reasons which were first urged in favor of missions to the heathen, are proved to be true and valid. Not a flaw has been discovered in one of them. Not an imperfection, not a weakness, has been detected in a single reason on which the friends of missions ever placed much reliance. On the contrary, the more the subject has been examined, the more the condition of the heathen has been explored, and the more the effects of introducing the gospel among pagans have been witnessed, the stronger do all the arguments in favor of missions appear.

"When it is considered that the missionary cause has now, for a long time, been exposed to the scrutiny of friends and enemies;—to the doubts of the timid, the scoffs of the profane, and the sophistries of the sceptical; and when the solidity of its foundation is proved by every trial, there need be no apprehension as to its permanency and its ultimate triumph. All systems of false doctrine, and all codes of unsound morality, are subject to continual variations. They are sustained, so long as sustained at all, by a series of temporary expedients. The reasons assigned at one time, especially in all cases of practical error, are essentially different from those which had been assigned at another. The inference is inevitable.

"But though the principles upon which missions to the heathen have been urged, are unchangeable, the agents and the circumstances are constantly experiencing that mutability which belongs to all terrestrial objects. The members of this Board, one after another, disappear from among men. Missionaries leave their bones in the ocean and on the land,—in their exploring journeys, and at their several stations. Others of their number, debilitated by fatigue, and exposure, and constant care, are unable to pursue their labors. The most active and useful friends and patrons of missions have limits assigned to their influence and exertions. The attention of many good men is divided and weakened by the multiplicity of charitable exertions; and the incessant care of the multitude is directed to perishable objects and pursuits.

"It may be assumed, indeed, that American Christians will not relinquish the cause of missions; but great efforts will be necessary to raise the tone of missionary feeling to its proper elevation, and to keep it from sinking; and no human efforts, unaided from above, will be adequate to such a result, desirable as it is, and as all Christians will acknowledge it to be.

"During the last twenty years, many favorable changes have taken place in the religious state of the world. Many benevolent enterprises have been commenced and prosecuted with success. Much has been done in the way of getting access to various classes of the miserable. The gospel has proved its efficacy upon multi-

> tudes of all classes, and in all situations. It has been shown to be adequate to every emergency; and, to the considerate and well informed mind, it stands forth as the only hope of the world. Yet the opposing influences are many and strong. Though these influences may all be traced to the depravity of our nature, and to the machinations of the god of this world, they are still exceedingly complicated and various. In less enlightened nations, superstition, inveterate customs, perverse habits, dread of innovation,—all withstand the progress of truth. In countries where free discussion is enjoyed, and the power of the press is felt, it is easy to take advantage of ignorance and credulity, and to disseminate false doctrine, skepticism, infidelity, and practical atheism. Even in the church of God, formality, spiritual pride, a desire of pre-eminence, and a love of ease, have too often fortified themselves, and greatly diminished, or utterly excluded, the genuine fruits of the gospel. With all the frightful mass of guilt and crime under which the heathen world is groaning;—with selfishness in a thousand forms; —with pride, irreligion, and sensuality, in all their odious and disgusting varieties; with enemies abroad, and enemies in their own bosoms, have the disciples of Christ to contend, as they go forth to labor for the establishment of his kingdom. The contest would indeed be hopeless, were they not authorized to expect help from on high. While looking within themselves, and on the world far and near, in parts or in the whole, causes of overwhelming despondency would be found. But when the eye of faith is lifted to heaven,—when the promises of the inspired page are considered, and the powerful effects of the gospel are duly regarded,—then it is that all doubts are dismissed, and the soul prepares to put forth its full vigor in the cause of God and his church."

It is in the conclusion of the Report, however, that his views of the cause, and of the duties and destinies of his country, are uttered with the greatest freedom and earnestness. As if urged on by some secret admonition that his labors on earth were soon to close, he yielded to the impulses of his heart, and expressed more fully than he had ever before done, his views respecting the future growth and influence of this nation, the dangers to which it is exposed, the means of its preservation, the exalted and beneficent destiny to which he would have it aspire, and the solemn responsibility resting upon the individuals that compose it, with reference to the succeeding and ever enlarging generations of its wide-spread and countless inhabitants, and to the world at large. Study it, thou who wouldst serve God among men; and learn thy place and thy duty:

"——————Quem te Deus esse
Jussit, et humanâ quâ parte locatus es in re,
Disce."

After the usual survey of the missions and proceedings of the Board, the Report concludes as follows:

"Christians have, for twenty or thirty years past, distinctly avowed the determination to labor for *the conversion of the world.* They have professed a full belief that the time is rapidly approaching, when all men will be brought under the influence of the gospel; when nominally Christian nations will be so reformed and purified, that vice, and infidelity, and superstition, and crime, and a merely secular profession of religion, will have disappeared, and been ultimately banished by the power of divine truth operating kindly, but irresistibly, through the medium of correct public opinion, pervading a truly virtuous and pious community. In accordance with this belief, the friends of Christ have put into operation certain principles and causes which are evidently adapted to change the condition of mankind; and the effects of these causes are already becoming manifest to the world. The principles of the Bible have certainly been gaining influence among men for the last twenty-five years; and the enemies of the Bible can easily see that, if this rising influence should steadily increase, all opposition to it must be at last overwhelmed and utterly destroyed. Hence it is, that they are so ready to combine their exertions, and conspire together as one compact and consolidated body, for the purpose of limiting the progress of genuine Christianity. Wicked men are very willing to praise religion in the abstract, and often to decry superstition; but when the influence of religion comes so near them as to threaten their peace and self-complacency, unless they change their course of life, and abstain from things heretofore deemed reputable and proper,—against such an influence their hearts rise with a feeling of most determined resistance. In this way is it accounted for by the most intelligent and observing Christians of Europe and America, that opposition to the gospel should have recently assumed so malignant an aspect. Every form of idolatry, however cruel, disgusting, and abominable, and however accompanied by the grossest immoralities,—every mode of superstition, however debased, and prostituted to become the minister of sin,—will find apologists in Christian communities. Even the horrid inquisition, with its annual *auto da fe*, and its host of victims, would appear quite tolerable tó not a few among us, if compared with such a state of feeling in the community, as should call forth a general expression of concern and compassion for any man who was not upright, conscientious, irreproachable, temperate in all things, serious, prayerful, obviously preparing for heaven, and *looking unto Jesus as the Author and Finisher of his faith.*

"If these views of the present state of things are correct, it is obvious that, as the power of religion shall increase, the opposition will likewise increase at least in an equal proportion; unless God should see fit to restrain the violence which is so naturally called into existence. That religion is steadily to increase henceforward, there is much reason to hope; perhaps we ought to say, there is abundant reason to believe: that it will ultimately prevail, we are not to doubt for a moment.

"While acting in behalf of a large portion of the Christian community in the United States, it will not be deemed improper to direct our thoughts to the future destinies of our country. Such an investigation, if properly conducted, cannot be a useless employment; especially as the success, or the want of success, of this institution, and of similar associations for benevolent purposes, will materially affect the future condition, not only of America, but of all mankind. Our exertions may naturally be expected to receive some impulse from a consideration of the vast consequences to flow from them.

"If an authoritative sanction were necessary to justify our looking forward, and estimating the value of present effort by the results hereafter to be seen, we have many such sanctions in the Bible. The great lawgiver of the ancient dispensation urged the people of Israel, by many most affecting considerations, to bear in mind the influence of their own conduct upon the condition of their posterity. Almost every prophet sounds the trumpet of alarm and raises its most terrific notes, when calling attention to the fact, that the present conduct of the people was to fix the destiny of generations to come; and our Savior himself reprehends the dulness of those who witnessed his ministrations, and yet were not able to discern the signs of the times.

"It is not presumption, then, it is not vain curiosity, for us to look forward and form some opinion of the probable condition of the people of America, and of the bearing which our own example and influence will have upon the future state of our beloved country.

"Looking at the present condition of mankind with the light of history alone, there are three suppositions which may be made, not without some plausibility, in regard to the character of the people of North America, who shall speak the English language when the whole continent shall be full of inhabitants. The first of these suppositions is, that the proportion then existing between morality and vice, truth and error, honesty and crime, religion and impiety, will be the same, or nearly the same, as at present;—the second, that infidelity and wickedness will prevail, while the friends of God are reduced to a very small number and driven into obscurity; and the third, that religion will pervade the land, in the length of it and the breadth of it, till opposition shall have ceased, and the whole vast community shall wear the aspect and exemplify the reality of a nation, or rather a cluster of nations, consecrated to God, the grateful recipients of his bounty, and the honored instruments of conveying his beneficence to other nations, rising to an equal state of glory and happiness.

"The first of these suppositions is the least plausible of the three; but still it is the one which most naturally strikes the mind, and it therefore deserves particular consideration. What then will be the condition of this country in future times, if the proportion between religion and irreligion, the church and the world, should remain as it now is?

"We are to remember that the population of the United States has quadrupled within the last fifty years; and if the restraints of religious principle continue to operate with their present degree of force, there is no improbability in supposing that our population will increase with nearly the same rapidity as at present, till the continent is replenished with people. How short a period is fifty years, to the man who looks back upon it! Most of the members of this Board were born before the commencement of it; and those who were not, are familiar with the details of its history, as if they were occurrences of yesterday. But, in fifty years to come, (at the close of which period some of our children now in school will sustain a portion of the most responsible offices in the religious and the political world,) our population will have swollen to fifty millions; and, in fifty years more, to two hundred millions.

"It has been computed, after a careful estimate of the capabilities of America, that, with the present degree of knowledge, and without any reliance upon future discoveries in agriculture and the arts, this whole continent will sustain at least two thousand millions of inhabitants, in circumstances of comfort. Let it be supposed, then, that, after a hundred years from this time, the population shall be doubled in thirty years instead of twenty-five. At this rate, the descendants of the present inhabitants of the United States, in one hundred and seventy years from this day, will amount to one thousand millions. If we keep in view the fundamental position, that religious restraints are not to be diminished, this conclusion is in no degree improbable. But the calculation founded on this position will certainly be safe, if the descendants of the present inhabitants of British America be thrown into the scale, and if it be considered that the emigration from Europe to America is constantly and rapidly increasing, and is likely to increase still more rapidly. For obvious reasons, the inhabitants of Spanish America will not increase so fast as the people of the United States. It may be assumed, then, that if the power of religious principle be not weakened among us and our descendants, there will be on this continent, in the year 1880, (when the young children now around our tables and in our schools will not have ceased to take an active part in human affairs,) fifty millions of human beings, speaking the English language; and, in fifty years more, (when some of our grand children will be spectators, if they shall have ceased to be actors,) there will be two hundred millions; and, in seventy years more, one thousand millions. The condition of this amazing mass of human beings must, according to the established laws of the divine government, be more or less affected by the principles and conduct of the present generation. If, according to the supposition, the relative power of religion be not diminished, the diminution will be prevented, with the favor of Heaven, by the strenuous efforts of the friends of God.

"Of the twelve millions and a half, who now compose our population, about five millions are men and women; the rest are children, or persons in early youth. Of the adults, enlightened charity can hardly go further than to suppose, that one million will include all who are truly pious, and all who live habitually under a sense of personal responsibility to God for their conduct. The remaining four millions, though not under the direct influence of religious considerations, are, to a great extent, restrained by fears respecting the world to come, and by the example, exhortations, and prayers of the religious part of the community. The general influence of their lives, however, is unfavorable to religion; and vast multitudes are vicious and abandoned, diffusing a moral pestilence all around them, perpetrating enormous crimes, eluding human law, or suffering its penalties.

"These four millions, who may be comprehended under the general denomination of people of the world, have six millions of children and youth under their direct control, and exposed to their constant example; and the other million of adults, who are habitually influenced by religious considerations, and who, to avoid circumlocution, may be denominated the church, have under their direct control, and subject to the influence of their constant example, a million and a half of children and youth. It is to be observed, that though the restraining influence of the church upon the world is in a high degree salutary, so far as the preservation of order in a free country is concerned, and so far as the tone of general morality is regarded; yet it is at present such as by no means to satisfy the desires of a benevolent mind. The church itself is burdened with many unsound and unprofitable members. There is much jealousy, suspicion, error, bigotry, and much defective morality too, within its pale. Compared with what ought to be seen, there is little zeal, devotedness, self-denial, and spiritual vigor.

"If the proportion between religion and irreligion is to remain the same, the god of this world will number among his followers, in the United States, fifty years hence, no fewer than sixteen millions of adults, having under their direction twenty-four millions of children and youth; while the church, the divided, weak, inefficient church, comprising all who act under a constant sense of religious responsibility, though many of these belong to no regularly organized body of disciples, and many others exhibit no very consistent example,—the church, thus rent and disfigured, will contain but one fourth as many adults, and a proportionate number of children and youth under its direction.

"Where one theatre, with its purlieus of vice and infamy, now allures to destruction, four of these noxious seminaries will educate their hundreds and their thousands for a life of profligacy and a hopeless end. Where one jail now raises its horrid and cheerless front, four will vex the eyes of the political economist, and chill the heart of every friend of man. Where a penitentiary now admits a regiment of disarmed malefactors, and confines them in degrading servitude and chains, its walls must be so extended as to receive a little army of felons, who will be prevented by physical force alone from seizing the property, or attacking the lives of peaceable inhabitants. For one printed vehicle of slander and falsehood, of ribaldry and blasphemy, which now dishonors the press, four of these pestiferous agents will pervade the community; and all sorts of mischievous influence will be increased in the same proportion.

"Is this a prospect at which a good man can look with composure? The appeal is made to Christians,—to men who believe that the gospel is the great remedy for human sufferings,—and that, where the gospel is rejected, all is lost.

"Looking forward only fifty years further, (when some of our grand-children will hardly be men of grey hairs,) and we must multiply every theatre and every jail by sixteen; and, in seventy years from that time, every receptacle of evil which now annoys us, must be multiplied by eighty. In one hundred and seventy years from the present day, (a period forty years shorter than that which has elapsed since the landing at Plymouth,) the people of the world, in distinction from the church, then inhabiting America, and speaking the English language, will amount to three hundred and twenty millions of men and women, and four hundred and eighty millions of children and youth, while the church will contain but one fourth of that number. It is true, that, on this supposition, there will be numerically a large multitude arranged on the side of the church, a goodly proportion of whom may be charitably considered as on their way to heaven. But who can bear the thought, that, in such a vast congregated mass of immortals, four out of five should be not only destitute of religion, but living in such a manner as to obstruct its progress, and limit its influence!

"We have proceeded thus far upon the principle, that the relative power of religion is to remain the same as at present. This, however, though a plausible supposition, is far from being probable. There is no example of the kind, in the history of the church. There have been, indeed, many alternations of success and defeat; but no instance of religion and irreligion advancing side by side, in regular proportions, for a period so long as one hundred and seventy years.

"If Christians in the United States have not strength enough to advance, they will not have strength enough to hold their own; and they must expect to be overwhelmed by floods of ungodliness. The church will then be driven into a corner, so that the world will suppose a final victory has been achieved. There will probably be some forms of religion remaining, gradually losing even the miserable efficacy of forms, and falling down to the level of the lowest superstition. But the general aspect will be that of a community living without God in the world.

"Pride, ambition, luxury, sensuality, profaneness, blasphemy, frightfully intermingled with poverty, crime, debasement, guilt, and shame, will lash with scorpions the enslaved and abject population. Even from this land of the pilgrims will arise the cry of millions, suffering under the torments which their own guilty passions will have brought upon them.

"It is obvious, that, if religious restraints be withdrawn, the number of inhabitants will not increase so fast as according to the preceding calculation. Still, the history of the world has shown that it requires long continued, as well as almost universal profligacy, to arrest the increase of population altogether. With the great advantages of soil and climate which this country enjoys, it may be expected, judging from God's government of the world hitherto, that our population will advance with rapidity, even though it should be checked by licentiousness. We may estimate that, in such circumstances, our numbers will be forty-five, instead of fifty millions, at the end of fifty years; an hundred and fifty, instead of two hundred millions in fifty years more; and five hundred, instead of one thousand millions, in one hundred and seventy years from the present time. The wickedness of the people, left almost without restraint from counteracting example, would increase at such a fearful rate, that, by the period last mentioned, it would greatly have retarded the progress of population; and much beyond that period, any increase of numbers would be slow and doubtful.

"Here then, we have five hundred millions of human beings, all living, (with exceptions too small to be taken into the account,) according to the maxim, *Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.*

"What would be the number of theatres and other receptacles of vice to amuse and gratify such a population? What the number of jails and penitentiaries, of police officers and armed guards, to coerce and restrain so vast a multitude, who would have no restraining principle in their own bosoms? Atheists may talk about liberty; but we know, that there can never be a truly free government, without an intelligent and conscientious subjection to law; and where there is no sense of accountability to God, there can be no respect for the order of society, or the rights of men.

"Populous heathen nations, and nominally Christian nations that have sunk nearly to the level of heathenism, are indeed without any restraining influence of true religion; and they are able, by means of racks, dungeons, and armies, of spies, guards, and officers, to preserve some kind of public order. The people are prepared for this, having been transformed into beasts of burden, by the long influence of superstition, and the domination of privileged orders. But, if the people of America speaking the English language should lose nearly all the religious restraint which now exerts so salutary an influence in our land, they will be a very different sort of men from the Chinese, or the inhabitants of Turkey, or Spain. All determined to gratify themselves, and none willing to submit to others; all having arms in their hands, and refusing to surrender them,—wickedness and violence will reign with tremendous and indomitable energy.

"The Sabbath will have ceased to shed its benign and holy radiance upon the land; for when the number of religious persons shall have dwindled to a very small fraction of the community, it will be impossible to preserve the Sabbath, except as a day of thoughtless festivity and noisy mirth,—and pre-eminently a day of sin. Then God will hide his face from an erring and self-destroying people; and dense and angry clouds, the precursors of his vengeance, will gather from every quarter of the horizon. One cry of violence and blasphemy will ascend like the cry of Sodom, from all the dwellers between the two oceans, and between the gulf of Mexico and the northern sea. No extraordinary instruments of divine wrath need be furnished. The remorseless cravings of unsatisfied desire, the aggressions and resistance, the insults and revenge, the cruelty and perfidy, the fraud and malice, pervading all ranks and classes of men, will supply more than a sufficient number of public executioners.

"Who, that has not a heart of adamant, can, without shuddering, regard such a day as probable? Who, that really expects such a day, but must wish to leave no posterity of his own, to mingle in the horrid strife—to become either tyrants or slaves, oppressors or victims; —all victims, indeed, to their own follies and crimes?

"Yet this is the very state of things which multitudes among us are laboring to produce. They do not see the whole effect of what they would gladly accomplish; but they most heartily desire that the time should arrive, when the Sabbath shall be universally regarded as an exploded superstition, and when there shall be no concentrated public opinion to pass censure even upon the most odious vices.

"Not only is such a state of things desired and aimed at by multitudes, but it is precisely such an issue as the unresisted depravity of man will speedily terminate in. It is altogether a practical matter; and will be the sad history of this country, unless the good, and the public spirited, and the pious of the present and succeeding generations, acting under the great Captain of salvation, avert so awful a calamity.

"The remaining supposition is, that the relative power of religion will increase, till, before the expiration of the longest period here mentioned, opposition shall gradually have died away; and all the happy millions of this continent shall live together as brethren, adoring their Creator and Redeemer, and lending a cheerful influence to every good design. Then will be a day of glory, such as the world has never yet witnessed. As the sun rises on a Sabbath morning, and travels westward from Newfoundland to the Oregon, he will behold the countless millions assembling, as if by a common impulse, in the temples with which every valley, mountain, and plain will be adorned. The morning psalm and evening anthem will commence with the multitudes on the Atlantic coast, be sustained by the loud chorus of ten thousand times ten thousand in the valley of the Mississippi, and prolonged by the thousands of thousands on the shores of the Pacific. Throughout this wide expanse, not a dissonant voice will be heard. If, unhappily, there should be here and there an individual whose heart is not in unison with this divine employment, he will choose to be silent. Then the tabernacle of God will be with men. Then will it be seen and known to the universe, what the religion of the Bible can do, even on this side of the grave, for a penitent, restored, and rejoicing world. But while contemplating such a display of glory and happiness on earth, we are not to forget that this illustrious exhibition of divine power and love would derive nearly all its interest from the fact, that these countless millions were in a process of rapid transmission from earth to heaven.

"Is it asked, What has this subject to do with the meeting of a foreign missionary society? Much, in various respects. It is perfectly clear to the mind of a contemplative Christian, that efforts made in this country to send the gospel to distant heathen, are as sure to bring permanent and spiritual blessings to ourselves, as any evangelical efforts that can be made. And, if missions to the heathen were to receive no future support from America, what would this prove, but that Christian benevolence was at so low an ebb among us; that there was so little of primitive zeal or apostolic enterprize to be found; that nothing great, and noble, and effectual, in the way of charitable effort, could ever hereafter be expected from this people? If our domestic missionary societies are to be sustained, they must be sustained by Christian benevolence: but, wherever this divine principle exists, it will seek access to the heathen; and where access is once gained, it will not be relinquished. In a thousand ways, the beneficial influence of sending the gospel abroad, is felt in our religious prosperity at home. If, through the apathy of Christians in regard to the condition of the heathen, it should be necessary first to curtail and then to withdraw our foreign operations, sad would be that hour, and of most disastrous influence upon all our domestic institutions.

" Be it known, then, and felt by us all, that there is no way in which we can so powerfully aid the cause of God in our own land, as by doubling and quadrupling our sacrifices for the salvation of distant pagans.

" These considerations are not to be set aside as a theoretical discussion. We, and our associates and friends throughout the country, are to have an agency in fixing the destiny of the generations to come; and in fixing their destiny by what we shall do, or neglect to do, in this very matter of sending the gospel to the heathen. Christians in the United States have a character to sustain, or to lose. They are to receive the approbation of posterity for perseverance in well-doing; or to be sentenced to public reprobation as betrayers of high trusts. They are to be rewarded as benefactors of their race, or to share the doom of the servant who hid his Lord's money in a napkin. There is no avoiding this responsibility. They cannot hide themselves in dishonorable graves, in such a manner as to escape reproach, if they now raise the craven cry of surrender, instead of anticipating the shout of victory and triumph.

" When John Carver and his associates landed at Plymouth, and afterwards John Winthrop and his associates arrived at Charlestown, they might have doubted, on some accounts, whether their names would be known to posterity. They labored, however, for the good of mankind, and laid foundations with a distinct and special and declared regard to the benefit of future times. Their posterity remember them with inexpressible gratitude; and their names will receive new tributes of admiration with every succeeding age.

" The moral enterprises of the present day are novel,—if not in their character and principle, yet in their combination and effect. They will be thoroughly examined hereafter, and the hundreds of millions of Americans will, in the next century, declare the result. We may now imagine these millions convened, as in some vast amphitheatre, and directing their anxious and concentrated gaze upon us. Happy will it be for our country and the world, if they can then exclaim, 'These were the men of the nineteenth century, who came to the help of the Lord against the mighty;—these friends and patrons of missionary and Bible institutions;—these supporters of a press truly free, which, by its salutary issues, emancipated the nations from the thraldom of sin;—these defenders of the Sabbath and all its holy influences;—these are the men who counted the cost of denying themselves, and cheerfully made the sacrifice of throwing all their powers and resources into an effort for the world's deliverance. God smiled upon their persevering and united labors, acknowledged them as his friends and servants, and we now hail them as benefactors of our happy millions, and of thousands of millions yet unborn.'

"In words like these may we imagine that our humble instrumentality will be commemorated, if we are faithful to our engagements. But should we become weary of our work and relinquish it; should its difficulty dishearten us, and the confused shouts of the enemy terrify us; should we say, that these Anakims are too tall for us to encounter, and their fortifications are too strong for us to assail; and we must leave to better men and after times the glory of such high achievements:—should we fold our hands and say, that another age of darkness must intervene before the dawn of the millennial day shall rise;—that we have been beguiled by a meteor, which we took to be the morning star ascending on high; and that we must remit our efforts, and make up our minds that our children and our children's children, for centuries to come, are to grind in the vast prison-house which is preparing for their reception: if these are to be our conclusions, and these the depths to which our high hopes have fallen, let no man write our epitaph. The sooner we are forgotten, the better. If it were possible, let every recorded trace of the religious exertions of the present day be blotted out, so that the knowledge of our disastrous failure may not discourage the enterprise of some future age. But it will not be possible; for the enemy will preserve our sanguine predictions and the memory of our gigantic plans, to grace his triumph, and as a standing exhibition of a design which joined all that was splendid and glorious in anticipation to all that was feeble and abortive in execution. In such a melancholy termination of our efforts, some indignant prophet of the Lord, in that retirement to which the prevailing wickedness shall have consigned him, will utter his complaint against us. 'These are the men,' he will say, 'to whose energy and fidelity God committed the condition of their posterity. The charge fell from their feeble hands. They began to build, but were not able to finish, because they were not willing to labor. They put their hands to the plough, but looked back, and were not fit for the kingdom of heaven.'

"If we would avoid this catastrophe, more deplorable than words can describe, we must feel deeply and constantly, that without Christ we can do nothing; and that from him must proceed,

'Our high endeavor, and our glad success,
Our strength to suffer, and our will to serve.'

"To him must we look habitually, as the Hope of Israel, as the Redeemer of his chosen people, as King of kings and Lord of lords.

"Knowing his power and willingness to save, we must distrust ourselves only; and, in such a temper, we must apply to him to call forth more zeal and devotedness, and to place more consecrated talent in requisition.

"The professed friends of Christ,—those who are charitably regarded as his real friends, must, as a body, show more zeal and self-denial in his cause, or it cannot advance: that is, it cannot advance according to any known method of the divine administration.

"This is a very solemn concern. It is a painful truth, but thousands of facts prove it to be a truth unquestionable, that the mass of those who are regarded as the real friends of Christ, are in no degree awake to the responsibility of their situation. They have but a very indistinct apprehension of what they are able to do—of what they ought to do—of what the world is losing by their neglect; and the very imperfect decisions of their minds are but slowly and partially executed by the performances of their hands.

"This is the more to be lamented, as we are now at the very harvest time of the world. The individual who annually gives his few dollars or his few cents, puts tracts and Bibles into the hands of distant heathens immediately; or places heathen children in a missionary school; or aids in training up native preachers to itinerate and proclaim the gospel among their countrymen.

"As to consecrated talent, never was there such a call to bring it into exercise; never such a reward as it now has to offer to a benevolent heart. The man whose labors contribute, in any material degree, to raise up, and purify, and ennoble the future millions of America, will do more for himself, as aiming to exert a salutary influence, (even if his name should never be known to his grateful fellow men,) than has ever yet been done for the most successful aspirant, by all that the world calls fame.

"The preacher, who sends abroad a sermon full of great and striking thoughts, that command the attention of the religious world, and make their way through a thousand channels to successive ages;—the sacred bard, who composes a hymn that shall be stereotyped a century hence, on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, and printed on the same page with Cowper's 'O for a closer walk with God,' or the '*Martyrs Glorified,*' of Watts;—the writer, who shall print a warm and stirring treatise on practical religion, which shall stand by the side of the Saint's Rest, in the library of every family, when our country shall have become thoroughly and consistently Christian;—the editor of a periodical, or the agent of any of our religious charities, who shall indite a paragraph, able to move the hearts of men to great and noble deeds, and to secure for itself a permanent existence among the elements of thought and action: the man who shall do any one of these things, or any thing of a similar character, will exert an efficient influence over more minds than have ever yet heard the name of Homer or Cicero; and will cheer more hearts, during a single generation, than have ever yet responded to the calls of the mightiest genius. To aid, even in a feeble and indirect manner, the work of bringing thousands of millions to glory and virtue, to heaven and to God, is to reach an exalted rank among those whom their Saviour will honor as the instruments of his divine beneficence."

The Indian question was not yet conclusively settled. The Act of Congress, the passage of which had given Mr. Evarts so much pain, authorized the President of the United States to prosecute the plan of removing the Indians; but it might yet be repealed, or the execution of it might be prevented by the withholding of appropriations, or the refusal of the Senate to ratify treaties made under such compulsion. Measures had been taken, also, to secure, if practicable, the interposition of the Supreme Court of the United States; and it seemed desirable at least to defer active measures under the treaty, until the decision of that tribunal should be obtained. It was a subject, therefore, that naturally occupied a prominent place in the plans of Mr. Evarts for the year. His active correspondence and other labors in regard to it were continued.* Three or four letters of this period will show the state of his mind.

TO REV. FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D.

Boston, July 1, 1830.

"Mr. Anderson read to us this morning your letter to him, so far as it relates to the Indian subject. Mr. Wisner and Mr. Greene were present. It was agreed that I should write to you and say that you must come to Boston on the subject. I have not time to write a long letter, and if I had, a letter would be a very imperfect communication. You intimate that you wish 'the case may not be as bad as it seems to be.' I have no doubt the case is far worse than you ever conceived of. Last evening I received a letter from Mr. Kingsbury, which informs us that the removing system has already brought immense evil upon the Choctaws. As the Methodist missionaries were forward in promoting the treaty, so called, which the Choctaws offered to make in March last, the opposers of religion have rallied, and charge the whole removing system upon all the missionaries and upon the Gospel. They arrayed patriotism against religion ; and as they are undoubtedly right in their feelings as patriots, and in their indignation at the base manner in which their rights have been taken from them, by bullying, threats, and bribery,—and as the people are really and unanimously opposed to a removal, unless they are driven to it by the dread of oppression,—it follows that the opposers of religion have a tremendous advantage.

---

* This was a crisis that justified, in his view, a departure from his usual more silent course respecting elections. The preservation, inviolate, of the public faith, as pledged in the Indian treaties, he regarded as paramount to all other questions then before the minds of electors; and when the election of a member of Congress from Boston came on, he attended a meeting of citizens at Faneuil Hall, and moved a resolution urging the support of one of the candidates on that ground.

" Our missionaries have been cautious and prudent, as to interfering with the politics of the Indians ; but Mr. Kingsbury has told the government, in a dignified manner, that he considers the measures unjust and oppressive. All our missionaries east of the Mississippi consider the whole scheme to be a wanton and abominable robbery ; yet all this does not shield them from being represented, by the opposers of religion, as having contributed to this result.

" As to the Baptists, I regret exceedingly the part which they have taken, though I think a large part of the Baptists here are opposed to a removal. I have avoided, however, and wish to avoid, everything which would lead to sectarian feelings, and I make the most charitable allowances for those who, as I think, have been egregiously misled.

" If proper efforts are made by good people, the rights of the Indians will yet be defended. I have many fears that these efforts will not be made ; but I have no doubt that every finger lifted now in behalf of the weak and suffering, will ward off loads of misery from a portion at least of the people of the United States.

" Let me know when you will be in town, as I will endeavor so to arrange matters that you shall see Mr. Webster, Mr. Everett, and others.

" P. S. I do think the matter is important enough for a journey of forty miles. It may well demand that one hundred thousand of our people should make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, if such a pilgrimage would aid in averting the evil."

TO E. LORD, ESQ.

Boston, October 13, 1830.

"I regretted much, that you were providentially hindered from attending with us to our annual business, as I wished to confer with you on the Indian question.

"The meeting was an interesting one. There was some difference of opinion, as to the expediency of expressing our views in regard to the claims of Georgia over the Cherokees. Yet a resolution passed on that subject, as you will see by the papers; and another, requesting the Committee to prepare a petition to Congress. The latter passed unanimously, though with the understanding that the *rights* of the Indians by treaty should not be insisted on, because some members of the Board, perhaps a quarter of those who were present, thought that would be such an interference with politics, as a missionary society should not be chargeable with. In my apprehension, this was altogether a mistake; but, for the sake of unanimity, the resolution passed with the understanding that the memorial should dwell upon the injurious consequences of a removal to the Indians, and not upon the obligations of the United States to protect them where they are. This part of the case, it was alleged, might be presented by individuals, and not by a religious incorporated body.

"The subject of raising funds, or of pressing the claims of the heathen upon the Christian public, drew forth much and very able discussion. It was matter of much regret, that so few people were present to hear it, and so few members to participate in it: for the most interesting discussion of all was on Saturday, when several members had left the city.

"In regard to the Indian question, I think much remains to be done by the friends of justice and our country's honor, especially in our large cities.

"The following things have struck me as desirable.

"1. That several eminent lawyers, in different parts of the United States, should give their opinions, with a view to publication. That some of these opinions should be given without a fee—volunteered for the good of the country—and where a fee is necessary, it should be raised in each city where the opinion is asked.

"2. That petitions should be circulated, throughout the country, praying Congress: 1st. To repeal the Indian bill. 2d. If that cannot be done, to make no more appropriations under it. 3d. The Senate not to ratify any treaty made under the auspices of that bill.

"Beside these things, there ought to be an effort made to engage all good writers to fill the papers with moving appeals on the subject. Those members of Congress who feel a deep interest in the subject, should be induced to speak early in the session, and to keep the subject constantly before the two houses.

TO REV. GEORGE POTTS.

Missionary Rooms, November 2, 1830.

"A year ago you visited the Choctaws. They have had a season of persecution and suffering since that time. Lately a treaty has been wrested from them in a most unjustifiable manner.

"I would respectfully propose it to you and to the good people with whom you associate, whether it is not your solemn duty to petition Congress, praying that justice may be done, and disclaiming all sanction of the process of robbery that is going on. How can the men of principle in Mississippi clear themselves in the sight of God, unless they bear testimony against these most flagrant acts of injustice? It is a serious question, and should be very seriously considered. I write to you as a decided friend of the Indians and a lover of fair dealing. A petition signed by respectable men in Natchez would have a great effect in preventing the ratification of unfair treaties. If the Choctaws are removed in the manner now contemplated, it is the opinion of the missionaries, and it is our opinion, that they will be ruined and the tribe destroyed. Many will die in the process; and this will be murder on the part of all who have urged the measure regardless of the rights of the Indians, and of all who might have raised a voice in their favor and would not. Those parts of our country will doubtless have the largest share in the punishment, which have had the largest share in the crime; and every friend of the South, residing there, ought to do all in his power to stay the plague and wipe off the stain."

TO E. LORD, ESQ.

Boston, November 24, 1830.

"You may have seen that the National Intelligencer of last Saturday announces two essays by William Penn, as soon to appear in that paper. These essays have received the approbation of gentlemen as competent to judge what the present crisis demands, as any men in the country.

"The object of this letter is to request that you will exert yourself and make influence with others, to have those numbers republished in the Journal of Commerce, the Daily, the American, and the Commercial, as soon as they appear. I know you will appreciate my motives. It is necessary to act speedily, if we would avoid the foulest disgrace that ever befell an intelligent people. Wherever these essays are republished, they should be accompanied by editorial remarks.

"I wish I could be in New York next week, with a view to consult with you and others on this subject. Among the measures which I think ought to be taken in your city, are these.

"1. The raising an adequate fund to print on this subject.

"2. The publication of a large edition of Mr. Wirt's opinion, with some brief remarks to aid it.

"3. The printing of numerous copies of some of the principal speeches on the Indian bill; viz. Mr. Storrs's, Mr. Bates's, Mr. Everett's, &c. Stereotype plates, you know, are on hand.

"4. The sending as many of Mr. Wirt's opinion and these speeches to Washington, as members of Congress on the right side would be willing to frank to their friends in all parts of the United States.

"5. The sending forth a circular letter to all parts of the country, soliciting petitions in behalf of the Indians.

"6. The writing and publishing a good, animated, and cogent form of a petition, as an example and model.

"7. The procuring this petition to be signed in New York by as many as possible.

"Generally, the rousing up as much public feeling in behalf of the Indians, and as much indignation against the mean, false, and treacherous course pursued at present, as possible.

"In a word, if the Indians are destroyed, and our country is deeply and permanently disgraced, let the reproach be wiped off, as far as possible, from the religious and public-spirited portion of the community."

Meantime the ordinary business of the Board was calling for unusual labors, especially in regard to the sending out of a reinforcement to the Sandwich Islands mission. "I doubt not," writes Mr. Evarts to an associate on the Prudential Committee, "I doubt not you feel with me, that our responsibilities are assuming a more weighty character than ever before; and that we have serious difficulties to contend with. As to our proposed excursion to Exeter, [to attend a missionary meeting,] I must be excused from going, if other arrangements can be made; if not, I will go. The fact is, there are a great many more things to be done here [at his office] than can possibly be accomplished."

About the middle of December, he visited New Bedford to superintend the embarkation of missionaries, and to attend missionary meetings in the vicinity. In this he spent about two weeks of hard and exciting labor, and exposed often to weather exceedingly unfavorable to his health, of the failure of which he had before received decided admonition. His time was employed in consultation with the missionaries and arranging their concerns; in writing the official Instructions, and numerous letters to the missionaries and chiefs at the Islands; in attending meetings, and in other ways holding intercourse with the people of New Bedford and the neighboring towns for the purpose of securing among them a warmer interest in the operations of the Board. Other subjects, however, were by no means excluded from his thoughts, as the following passages from his journal, addressed to a friend and fellow-laborer, shows:

"Fall River, a quarter before 12 o'clock, December 20. I now retire to rest, but must mention that I have read this evening, in the Christian Spectator for December, part of the Review of

Sprague's Lectures. I wish you to read from page 651 to the end of the article. On page 652 you will find thoughts like those in the close of our last Report. That and the next page are powerfully written. Blessed is the man who warns his countrymen of their dangers, and rouses Christians to the proper state of activity. On page 656 is a powerful expostulation with parents on doing what they can to fix the character of their children as friends of God; and the next page has a most indignant reprobation of the seducers and destroyers of youth by means of vice and infidelity. I have seldom been more deeply affected in regard to my responsibility as a parent, than by this article.

" 21st. Evening. Met gentlemen at Mr. Holmes's, and spent the greater part of the evening in conversation on the Indian question. It was resolved to call a meeting of friends of the Indians, at some day within a short time, with the view of petitioning in their behalf. Conversed also about a subscription here in aid of our mission, besides a collection. This was agreed upon, though rather in a faint manner.

" 26. Sabbath. I have thought much this morning on the wisdom of living habitually in such a state that death could not take me by surprise; by which I mean, that trust in God should be so constantly in exercise, and the fear of offending Him so predominant, and faith in the Saviour so lively, that a known summons to leave the world should create neither apprehension nor alarm. How far I have been, or am, in possession of such a state of mind, there would be no use in my declaring; but I do most seriously desire that all my friends should seek after and obtain it.

" 28. At sunrise, the bell of Mr. Holmes's church tolled as a signal for the embarkation of the missionaries. We immediately repaired to the wharf, where a parting hymn was sung, and a prayer was offered by Dr. Wisner. Many persons of both sexes were present. The scene was deeply affecting to many. We took a hasty and affectionate leave of the missionaries, as the sloop which conveyed them was about leaving the wharf."

As it is the last paper of the kind which he wrote, and as exhibiting in a strong light the views of Mr. Evarts on some important topics connected with missions, extracts from the Instructions which he prepared and delivered at this time, are here copied :

"Besides the general importance of the objects to which you are devoted, there is another consideration which makes it proper that the Committee should address you publicly. We refer to the public relation which subsists between missionaries and those to whom the friends of missions have intrusted the responsible service of sending forth, superintending, and directing evangelical laborers. However inadequately we may discharge the duties assigned us, it is proper that these duties should be publicly recognized. How arduous the suitable supervision of missionary concerns is, the great body of Christians have little apprehension. Even you will probably never know, though after a few years you may have had such experience as will enable you to imagine, with what trembling solicitude despatches from missionary stations are frequently opened ;—how the heart sickens and almost faints, lest evil tidings should arrive, and lest, through the opposition of wicked men, and the wiles of Satan, or the injudicious management of the Committee, or the imperfection of missionaries, or the removal of valuable men by death, or some other adverse occurrence, the cause should suffer, the designs of good men should be defeated, and the heathen should not receive the benefit intended for them. Very often, on the other hand, tears of joy and gratitude start into the eye, as it runs over pages written by a beloved missionary,—one who relates wonderful things, which God has done and is doing by feeble instrumentality, and who describes the manner in which the designs of the great adversary are thwarted, and the gospel is promoted by attempts to obstruct its progress.

"Be assured, beloved friends, that between the members of this Committee and all faithful missionaries, there arises a personal attachment, which grows stronger, as the occasions for bringing it into exercise increase in number and importance. This remark is made the rather, as you have had fewer opportunities of personal acquaintance with the Committee, than have happened in regard to individuals composing any previous reinforcement to the Sandwich Islands. In the language of the apostle, *it is in our hearts to live and die with you;* that is, so long as life remains, we wish to co-operate with you constantly, heartily, and most affectionately, for the promulgation of the gospel.

"When the lassitude of a sultry climate oppresses you, and tempts you to indolence, remember that you have no time to be idle; for you are executing an agency which is of unspeakable importance, and admits of no delay. When you are provoked by the ingratitude of those for whom you labor, or the machinations of opposers, or the treachery of false friends, (if you should be called to these trials,) remember that you have no time to be peevish or angry; for you are discharging duties which have respect to eternity. When you are tempted to be vain and self-complacent on account of any remarkable success with which your labors may have been crowned, or any peculiar approbation which you may have received from your fellow-laborers, or the Christian public,—remember that these things, considered in themselves, are too small to occupy your thoughts, or to hinder you in your work. Aim rather at that fidelity in executing your commission, which shall be followed by the commendation of your Lord. This seeking the favor of God will never interrupt your labors, nor impair your energy, nor distract your thoughts, nor be in any measure incompatible with the highest estimate of your calling.

" Permit us to urge upon you here the consideration, *that your calling requires great diligence.* This is partly implied in what has been already said; but it deserves a more particular exhibition. Very seldom is any thing valuable acquired among men without diligence. The wise man said, long ago, *the diligent hand maketh rich;* and the farmer, the artisan, the mariner, the merchant, have found, in every age, that diligence alone affords a reasonable assurance of success. Much more strongly does this appear in reference to moral things. Men are naturally in a wayward state; and this trait of character is very prominent in all heathen nations. It is hard to correct them. It is hard to reform them. It is generally hard to enlighten them; and it is harder still to make them deeply sensible that they are sinners and need salvation. All these things have been done; and, with the blessing of God, will be done again: but, in the doing of them, great diligence is necessary. Divine truth must be communicated in many ways, and on all occasions. Admonition, exhortation, reproof, must be administered. The law of kindness must be on the lips of the faithful missionary, and the law of benevolence must perpetually warm his heart.

" Besides, you will always have much to do to regulate your private and personal affairs in a strange land, and among a strange people. The correspondence with your patrons and friends at home, the duties of hospitality, the preparations for public preaching and teaching, the superintendence of schools, the translation and distribution of the Scriptures, tracts, and school-books, and other cares incident to these, would occupy, if it were possible for you to bear such labor, every hour of the day and the night. Add to these things the vicissitudes of sickness and pain, of disappointment and bereavement, and it is evident that your lives, if you would be faithful, must present a series of incessant labors.

" We know it has been said by the enemies of missions, that young men and women go abroad on missionary service for the sake of leading an easy life. The time of this assembly will not be wasted, however, by a formal refutation of this thoughtless objection.

" You, who have consecrated yourselves to this service, can doubtless testify that you always regarded the life of a missionary as a life of severe labor. So your friends and relatives have regarded it. And the individuals here assembled will testify that your patrons represent it in no other light. Nothing that is written or said on the subject, either by missionaries, or the directors of missions, can authorize any other expectation. Still, it may not be useless to bring the matter distinctly before you on this occasion. It is much easier to expect to be laborious, and to resolve to be so, than to hold out in a laborious public service for a long succession of years. Most men are induced to labor only by the pressure of necessity, or the strong impulse of avarice or ambition; and it is not every true Christian, nor every missionary, who has benevolence enough to carry him through a life of unremitted exertions, made solely for the benefit of others. The virtues of diligence and industry are to be cultivated, therefore, and cherished, as Christian graces. They are not to be obtained without an effort. They cannnot be formed into a habit, except by great resolution and perseverance; and, unless formed into a habit, labor will always be irksome.

"One temptation to remit your diligence will arise from the changes of situation and circumstances to which missionary undertakings are exposed. You may, in certain circumstances, be apt to think that some time hence, when a particular advantage shall have been gained, or a particular obstruction removed, you will begin to labor with great vigor and zeal; but that now you can do little with a prospect of success. The question should not be, however, what you may hope to do hereafter; but what you *can* do now. Let it be a settled purpose, followed by a corresponding practice, that you will every day do something for the spiritual good of your fellow-men; and that this something shall be the very best thing which, in the circumstances of the case, you can do; and after pursuing this practice for years, you will find that you have done much for the cause of God. The very least that you can have done will be, that you have left a standing and consistent testimony to the power of your benevolence,—to the divine principles which led you forth to the heathen,—to your confidence in the efficacy of the gospel,—and to your firm belief in the retributions of eternity. Such a testimony, borne for a length of time, cannot be without good effects. But the probability is very great, that you will behold many direct proofs of your fidelity, and that the angels of God will rejoice in heaven over many souls brought to repentance through your spiritual diligence.

" The most touching motives to such persevering activity in the cause of God, are found throughout the New Testament; but especially the examples of Paul and the other apostles, and of Christ himself, should be sufficient to banish all tendency to self-indulgence, and to stimulate the most sluggish to unwearied exertion And when, to the example of our blessed Saviour, are added his description of *the fields white for the harvest,* and his command to *work while the day lasts, for the night cometh, in which no man can work,* it should seem that no missionary will think of excusing himself from a course which was sanctioned by such authority, and is commended by so many powerful considerations.

" Let it not be supposed that a life of labor is of necessity a life of pain, anxiety, and sorrow. Far from it. Probably no mere man ever had more exalted enjoyments than the apostle Paul; and certainly no mere man ever encountered more severe, constant, and unwearied labors. The great secret of making a laborious life pleasant, or even tolerable, consists in making the particular *acts* of labor, which are performed daily, a gratification. When this is done, the great point is gained. Let it be urged upon you, then, my dear friends, to make your calculation for obtaining the greater part of your enjoyment, as you are passing through the world, from strenuous labor. After taking suitable care of your health, let labor be sought as regularly as your daily food, till it becomes as easy and natural to be engaged in some useful employment, as it is to breathe.

"From the very commencement of your missionary life, *cultivate a spirit of enterprise.* Without such a spirit, nothing great will be achieved in any human pursuit. And this is an age of enterprise, to a remarkable and unprecedented extent. In manufactures, in the mechanic arts, in agriculture, in education, in the science of government, men are awake and active; their minds are all on the alert; their ingenuity is tasked; and they are making improvements with the greatest zeal. Shall not the same enterprise be seen in moral and religious things? Shall not missionaries, especially, aim at making discoveries and improvements in the noblest of all practical sciences,—that of applying the means which God has provided for the moral renovation of the world? There are many problems yet to be solved, before it can be said that the best mode of administering missionary concerns has been discovered. What degree of expense shall be incurred in the support of missionary families, so as to secure the greatest possible efficiency, with a given amount of money;—how to dispose of the children of missionaries in a manner most grateful to their parents, and most creditable to the cause;—in what proportion to spend money and time upon the education of the heathen, as a distinct thing from preaching the gospel;—how far the press should be employed; —by what means the attention of the heathen can be best gained at the beginning;—how their wayward practices and habits can be best restrained and corrected;—how the intercourse between missionaries and the Christian world can be conducted in the best manner, so as to secure the highest responsibility and the most entire confidence; and how the suitable proportion between ministers of the gospel retained at home and missionaries sent abroad, is to be fixed in practice as well as in principle:—all these things present questions yet to be solved.

"There is room for boundless enterprise, therefore, in the great missionary field, which is the world; and blessed will be the name of that man by whose perspicacious diligence new and effectual measures for bringing the gospel to the minds and hearts of the the heathen shall have been discovered."

Mr. Evarts immediately returned to Boston, but reached home much debilitated. He proceeded, however, to prepare the Memorial of the Board to Congress on the state of the Indians, to write various important official letters, and to put all his secular affairs in the most perfect order for his contemplated absence, expecting to proceed to Washington to do what might be practicable there on behalf of the Indians, and thence on an agency in the middle or south-western States. His active correspondence with eminent members of Congress and with other gentlemen, in regard to Indian affairs, was continued, and he was daily consulted upon all the leading movements of the season, legislative and other, upon the subject. His friends at Washington kept him advised of every movement there, and of the dispositions that prevailed, and urged his presence; and he continued, though with obviously failing health, to cherish his plan for spending the winter and spring as above mentioned, till, early in February, he was advised that it was necessary to relinquish business, and to seek immediately a tropical climate. On the 2d of February the Memorial of the Board was sent on to Mr. Everett, with a letter expressing the hope that improving health would soon enable him to follow. On the 14th, that hope had fled, and he wrote to another friend at Washington as follows:

TO HON. I. C. BATES.

Boston, February 14, 1831.

"My health is too feeble to think of seeing Washington this winter. I expect to embark in a few days for the Havana.

"This is a great disappointment to me, but it is an allotment of Providence to which I reverentially submit. God doeth all things well.

"Please to tell Messrs. Taylor, Ridge, and Coody,* that I would cheerfully have given them my best service, however feeble, if I had been permitted to meet them.

"Let them be encouraged. God will yet interpose, as I hope, for their people.

"P. S. Please to tell Mr. Taylor and his colleagues, that we have strongly advised our missionaries in the Cherokee nation not to leave on account of the new Georgia law, which was doubtless aimed at them, and which will expose them to the penitentiary at least four years, for simply residing on Cherokee territory after the 1st of March.

---

* Delegates of the Cherokee nation.

"Mr. Worcester has written that he has made up his mind to stay and take the consequences, unless we advise otherwise.

"The public sentiment here is in favor of the missionaries going cheerfully to the State Prison; but the Cherokees must be ready to do the same, and wait the operation of law."

This was his last letter to Washington. The next day he embarked for Havana; and a note of sympathy and friendship from Mr. Everett, written at the close of an honorable but ineffectual endeavor, on his part, to secure a proper re-hearing of the case of the Indians, closed sadly his intercourse on earth with his friends in Congress.

He had a favorable passage, and arrived at Havana on the second of March, without any improvement of his health. There, and at the hospitable mansion of Mrs. Jenckes, near Matanzas, he remained, enjoying every advantage of climate and the kindest attentions, with health, as he thought, gradually improving, * till the eighteenth of April, when he embarked for † Savannah. There he arrived on the 24th, much exhausted by the brief voyage. After remaining one week, his friends most assiduously administering to his comfort, he proceeded by water to Charleston, which city he reached on the 3d of May. There, in the family of the Rev. Dr. Palmer, pastor of the Circular Church, and surrounded by a circle of acquaintance, every thing which friendship or medical skill could suggest, was done to restore vigor and health to his diseased system, but without effect. He steadily and rapidly declined, and it was soon evident that his labors on earth were drawing to a close.

Previous to his departure from home, he had manifested an unusually spiritual state of mind. There was a solemnity of conversation and demeanor, a tenderness of affection towards his family and friends, a thankfulness for every thing done for him, a quiet committing of himself and family, and of all the great interests in which he was concerned, into the hands of his Heavenly Father, which were uncommon even for him, and wholly inde-

* Subsequent events show that this was nothing more than a slight temporary relief in regard to some symptoms.

† The private memorandum was about this time.

scribable. He faithfully counselled every member of his family, and did every thing and said every thing which would have been expected, and in the very spirit which would have become him, if he had known that he should never return. Indeed, this apparent completion of his work and this striking meetness for the heavenly world, occasioned a sort of secret foreboding in his friends that they should see him no more.

He remained in the same calm and devout frame through the whole of his sickness. On his voyage his mind, he remarked, "was peaceful, though solemn." "I have been entirely free from anxiety—have daily consecrated myself to God, and felt happy in being in his hands and waiting his pleasure."

While crossing the Bahama Banks, Sabbath, Feb. 27th, he wrote:—"Daily, and many times a day, I have been disposed, I trust, to acknowledge the goodness of God, and to consecrate myself anew to his service. I had thought of making a formal and written consecration of myself to the Lord this forenoon; but my mind is so weighed down by my feeble body, that I can write nothing, except of the simplest kind, and cannot adequately dwell upon the amazing theme of being a servant of God, and of having him for my portion forever." And a few hours after: "We have turned the southwest end of Abaco. I have looked at this work of God, which it is not likely I shall see again; and have turned my thoughts many times to the great and blessed Creator of all."

"Here, in this sea, I consecrate myself to God as my chief good:—to him as my Heavenly Father, infinitely kind and tender of his children; to him as my kind and merciful Redeemer, by whose blood and merits alone I do hope for salvation; to him as the beneficent Renewer and Sanctifier of the saved. I implore the forgiveness of my numerous and aggravated transgressions; and I ask that my remaining time and strength may be employed for the glory of God, my portion, and for the good of his creatures."

"Whether I make my grave on the land or in the ocean, I submit cheerfully to him. It will be as he pleases; and so it should be. I pray that the circumstances of my death, be it sooner or later, may be favorable to religion; that I may not deceive myself in the great concerns of my soul; that I may depart in peace, and be received, through infinite mercy, to the everlasting kingdom of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

He still retained the same thankfulness for every favor he received. After arriving in Cuba, he writes:—"I have a thousand things to be thankful for: and it is my daily prayer that, if my health should be fully restored, I may be more entirely consecrated to God, than at any previous period of my life." "I cannot be sufficiently thankful that Providence has sent me to so good a place for the recovery of my health; where I have so many good things, and so many kind attentions from strangers, to whom I am and shall be under great obligations."

The missionary cause was still dear to his heart, and its interests were taken into the account in all his plans. In writing to his associates for their advice respecting the course to be pursued for the recovery of his health, he says:—"I would distinctly premise, what has been so often said before, that the Committee will advise (as I wish them and myself to decide in this matter) with a single, though enlarged view, to the interests of the missionary cause. This should always be prominent, both in profession and in fact. Whatever individuals may do from personal considerations, or from a regard to the cause, or from both classes of motives jointly, it has always been the maxim of the Committee to act, *as* a Committee, from public motives only; and whenever we may have failed in this respect, it has been from error in judgment, or want of wisdom or firmness; and not from allowing a different principle from the one just-mentioned." In a subsequent letter, remarking on a voyage to England and travelling in this country—the two courses that had been proposed for his restoration to health, he preferred the voyage, "if," he adds, "the prospect should be that I should have sufficient vigor while abroad to make my travels useful to the missionary cause: otherwise I should not think it best to go, though it promise fairer to health than any other course. I would not lift a finger to go to England, (much and long as I have venerated that country and a portion of its inhabitants,) unless the cause of Christ would be promoted, so far as we can judge, by such a visit." At a later date: "I keep the missionary cause in view in all these plans; that is, I seek restoration for the sake of laboring in the missionary cause. It has certainly been my chosen employment. I now consecrate myself to God for this cause. If he needs or designs to accept my services, he will retain them: if not, it will be for reasons infinitely good and wise."

The Indians, though he had endeavored to dismiss anxious care respecting them, were not forgotten. Referring to their case in a letter, he remarked:—"I have not allowed this subject to oppress my mind at all. It has been a standing topic in my prayers; and I have endeavored to leave it quietly to the disposition of Providence."

His family continued to share in his affectionate counsels and prayers. Describing the manner in which he spent his days, and mentioning his wife, and his children by name, he writes: "I early pray for you and for other relatives, and consecrate myself to God for the day." Again, to one of his children:—"You will not forget that religion is the great thing; that it is to be sought first of all; that nothing else is, comparatively, worthy of attention. It is beyond expression important that you, at this period of your life, make it the first object of desire and pursuit. These things you have often heard; but I feel it to be my duty to call your mind particularly and solemnly to them. My own mind is very frequently upon them."

Before leaving Cuba, he received intelligence of a revival of religion in Yale College, and that his eldest son* was a partaker in its special blessings.

"This news," he writes, "I receive with most devout joy and gratitude. I render humble and hearty thanks to God, and pray that he will prevent this youth from being deceived or mistaken; that his spiritual advisers may be faithful and wise; and that he may be taught by the Spirit of truth." "It is impossible that I should write to John at such length as I could wish. He needs attention constantly and immediately. I would therefore urgently request Mr. G. to write him a long and faithful letter on the amazing importance of being a thorough, instead of a feeble, doubtful, half-way Christian. The times demand the best of men and women; and this is the certain, and only certain way to happiness, while passing through this world." To his son he wrote:—"This intelligence gave me great joy. I immediately gave thanks to God for it. I know very well that sometimes reports of this kind are premature; and that young persons sometimes deceive themselves; yet I cannot help keeping this day, as far as possible, as a day of thanksgiving." "And now, my dear son, I commend you to God in Jesus Christ, praying that you may be taught by the Spirit; that your College teachers and others may be faithful to your soul; that you may make thorough work in regard to the state of your heart, and a consecration of yourself to God; that you may thus be prepared, in the best and only sure way, for happiness in this world; that you may be useful to your fellow men, and look with a well grounded confidence for Heaven at last."

---

* John J. Evarts, then in College, who was cut off in the bloom of life, a scholar and Christian of high promise, and followed his father to his rest in 1833, at the age of twenty-one.

"I have prayed for you daily, and more than once a day, particularly; the burden of my supplication being that this interesting time of life—this very spring—might not pass, and leave you without religion. I should be glad to write more, but my weakness will not allow it."

"P. S. Let me exhort you to read two or three, or more pages of Baxter's Saints' Rest, very deliberately and prayerfully every day."

As Mr. Evarts walked with God during his life, so when he found himself near the grave, and already entering the valley of death, he was assured that his Lord and Saviour was with him still. There was nothing in the prospect dark or alarming. He viewed the scene around him and watched the approaches of death with entire calmness and self-control. On Friday, the 6th of May, four days before his departure, a number of ministers, at his request, met him in his chamber, when, though exceedingly weak and prostrate, he addressed them, and remarked that he knew his case to be extremely critical—that he found it pleasant to be in the hands of God, who would do all things well—and that he had no painful solicitude as to the results of his sickness, but thought it his duty to use every means for the preservation of life. He then requested an interest in their special and united prayers:—1st. That if consistent with God's will, he might recover; 2ndly, That he might have a sweet sense of pardoned sin, and unshaken confidence in the Saviour; 3dly, That if God should spare his life, he might be *wholly* and *entirely* the Lord's, consecrated to his service; and 4thly, That, if it should please God to remove him by this sickness, he might be able to glorify him on a bed of languishing and pain, and that his precious cause might be promoted by his death. He then expressed a firm and abiding hope in the Lord Jesus, and seemed like a little child sweetly reclining on the arm of its faithful protector. By this effort he was so much exhausted that, at his request, the persons present retired to another apartment for special prayer.

During Saturday, there was no material change in his symptoms. Still, however, he was more feeble, and his pains returned with violence. On Saturday evening he remarked: "To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath. I may be in eternity before it arrives. My mind is so weak that I cannot pursue a train of thought; but I bless God, it is tranquil. Not my will, but thine, O God, be done!" To one who remarked—We hardly know how to spare you from the missionary cause, he said: "Don't mention it, don't mention it; the Lord knows best." After taking a little food, he said: "I shall require but little more nourishment in this world. My work is almost done—Jesus reigns—blessed be he. I wish to lie as a penitent sinner at the foot of the cross." About nine o'clock he breathed out a short but comprehensive prayer, in interrupted and broken petitions, making at its close a full and entire surrender of body and soul into the Redeemer's hands; and said: "O dear Saviour, if this be the last night I have to pray on earth, let my unworthy prayer be exchanged for praise in thy kingdom above. Amen, amen." Speaking of his family, he said: "I pity them; but God is a faithful God, he will take care of them—he will take care of them—that is enough." On being asked if he had any particular message to send them, he said: "Give them my love—my dying love—the Lord reigns."

On Sabbath morning his appearance was greatly changed, and during the day he was gradually sinking, yet able to converse. To a young professor of religion who was in attendance, he said: "You have professed religion while young; so did I. I rejoice in it. All I have to say to you is, endeavor to aim at high attainments. The present age demands great things of

Christians. Be not satisfied with being half a Christian. Be entirely consecrated to his service. There are some things that I could do, if Providence wills that I should get better; but I have no will of my own. I can rejoice that I am in the hands of the Lord. My mind is perfectly clear." To several young Christians he said:—"I feel a great interest in young Christians. I want to exhort you to *help* each other. Live near to God. Be bold in his service. It is the only thing worth being bold in. Do not be afraid. The Lord be with you." In the evening he again mentioned his family with much emotion, but added, "I am willing to go. I have committed them all to God. He has been good to them."

On the morning of the 10th, when told, in answer to his inquiry, that death seemed to be near, he said:—"The will of the Lord be done. Attend now to what I say, as to the words of a dying man." Then naming the several members of his family and other relatives, he added:—"To all my relations and friends, grace, mercy, and peace in the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom alone they and I can hope to be saved. And I wish in these dying words to recognize the great Redeemer as the Saviour from sin and hell; able and willing to save all that come unto God by him. To him I commend my spirit, as to an all-sufficient Saviour. He is the great champion and conqueror of death and hell. And I recognize the great Spirit of God as the renovator of God's elect; and herein, if I gather strength, I wish to recognize and acknowledge the church of God, containing all who have truly dedicated themselves to him in a true and everlasting covenant. And here permit me, a poor unworthy worm of the dust, to give thanks to many of the children of God, from whom I have received confidence, kindness, and favor, as a disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ. And one more duty; if in any respect I have offended the children of God, I ask their forgiveness. If I have grieved them by impatience, or any other way, I ask their forgiveness."

A few hours after, when his thoughts were evidently fixed on the Saviour and the heavenly world, he was asked,—Have you any thing to say to the missionaries—any message? He said: "Oh yes, oh yes; but I am afraid I shall make distinctions—don't let me make distinctions." No, was the reply—*all* the missionaries. Does the missionary cause appear more precious and important than ever? After a considerable pause, and with much expression of countenance and emphasis of manner, he said: "You have called me back to the world!"

During the day, he had seasons of pain and very laborious breathing. About nine o'clock in the evening, expecting that his time was come, he requested to be laid in a position suitable for the occasion. But in about a quarter of an hour he had a return of violent pain, and when nearly exhausted he said, "Dear Jesus." It was added:

> "While on his breast I lean my head,
> And breathe my life out sweetly there."

Immediately he burst forth with expressions of rapture which cannot be described:—"Praise him, praise him, praise him in a way which you know not of." It was said, you will soon see Jesus as he is, and you will then know how to praise him. "Wonderful, wonderful, wonderful glory. We cannot understand—we cannot comprehend—wonderful glory—I will praise him, I will praise him.—Who are in the room? Call all in—call all—let a great many come—I wish to give directions—wonderful—glory—Jesus reigns." All the members of the family were called; but before they could be assembled, he sank down exhausted, and scarcely spoke again. He continued to breathe, free from any paroxysm of pain, until a quarter before eleven o'clock, when he fell asleep in Jesus.

The remains of Mr. Evarts were brought to Boston, and repose in the family vault beneath Park-street Church—the endeared resort of his Sabbaths for so many years, and the place where he had enjoyed so much at his favorite meeting, the Monthly Concert of prayer for the conversion of the world.

Under the direction of his associates of the Prudential Committee, funeral services were performed in the chapel of the Theological Seminary at Andover, with a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Woods; and their loss was recorded in their Minutes in the following terms:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee are deeply impressed with the great loss which has been sustained by themselves and by the

Board in whose behalf they act, and by the cause of Christian benevolence in general, in the removal, by death, of their beloved friend and associate, JEREMIAH EVARTS, Esq., who, from the origin of the Board, has been devotedly and efficiently engaged in promoting its prosperity and usefulness, in the offices of Treasurer and Corresponding Secretary, and as a member of this Committee. While they bow with submission to this severe stroke of a wise and merciful Providence, the Committee desire to acknowledge with devout thankfulness to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, the disinterestedness of spirit, the comprehensiveness of views, the soundness of judgment, the accuracy of detail, the laborious industry, the undeviating integrity, the uniform patience and kindness, the habitual dependence on God, and the distinguished ability and success, which characterized the efforts of Mr. EVARTS in the missionary cause, and in the various departments of philanthropic and benevolent exertion."

A minute of similar tenor was adopted at the next annual meeting of the Board, as a just tribute to one who had "devoted all the powers of his strong, sagacious and sanctified mind to the cause of missions among the heathen, with a degree of zeal, judgment, disinterestedness, and indefatigable diligence and perseverance, which has probably never been exceeded by any one occupying a similar station, and which commanded the universal confidence of the friends of missions to whom he was known, in every part of the world."

But such notices represent too feebly the feeling of bereavement that pervaded the whole religious community. It can best be imagined by reflecting on what he was, and on the relations that he had sustained, during the whole active period of his life, to the religious enterprises of the time.

"It is by no means easy," remarks one who was associated with him in office for several years, "it is by no means easy to analyze such a character as that of Mr. Evarts, and exhibit the several parts in detail. We do not contemplate a well proportioned edifice as consisting of parts, or think of the appearance or separate effect of each stone: but we look at it as a whole; and the impression on our minds is the impression made by it as a whole. The parts of his character were so adjusted to each other, and so interlocked, that the separate traits were scarcely noticed. So in his labors there was not an imposing display of some one great quality; but rather a harmonious and effective combination of all the useful qualities of the understanding and the heart. His character may be best learned from the life he lived, and the labors he accomplished. Only some of its general features, as exhibited in his public life, will be attempted here.

"The first and strongest impression which Mr. Evarts made on the minds of others was, probably, that of a man controlled by *an enlightened Christian public spirit.* He felt a deep interest in the welfare of his fellow men, and in every thing that could affect their happiness. This feeling was the overflowing of genuine Christian love. It was well proportioned to the objects which called it forth, and often rose to a noble enthusiasm. It was limited to no party, to no one great public interest, to no portion of the human family. In its wide range, it embraced all, and was tenderly concerned for all. While he was most deeply anxious for the spiritual interests of mankind, he was alive to every thing that tended to advance knowledge or civilization, or to improve their political or social condition. Although fully aware of the duties which he owed to himself and his family, and uncommonly faithful in discharging them, yet he regarded himself and them as living for the public good. He never seemed to permit any other interest to come into competition with that. He thought for it, prayed for it, labored for it; without once asking what thanks or what emolument would be secured, or what hardship or reproach would be encountered.

"In performing the labors to which his public spirit led him, his *industry was untiring.* He committed himself early and for life to the public service, and never drew back. He was one of the very few men who will labor as strenuously and perseveringly for the public as for himself. In every community where he resided, and in all the societies with which he was connected, he was willing that the burden of the labor should be thrown on him, and seldom declined any service assigned to him. Nor did he wait for labor to be imposed upon him; he sought for it whenever it would promote the public good. It was his highest enjoyment. It is doubtful whether he ever failed to accomplish any important object within his reach, because he was not sufficiently interested in it, or because it would require too great effort. Though of a feeble constitution, and incapable of great bodily exertion, yet few men could endure so intense and long-continued mental labor without exhaustion.

"Mr. Evarts was eminently *enterprising*. He cast his eye over all portions of society around him, and abroad over the world, to see what needed to be done; and he felt a responsibility for seeing it done, to the extent of his ability and influence. What was within his power he would undertake; and what was not, he would press on the attention of others. He knew well what was feasible, and how to select means for its accomplishment. His plans and opinions were thoroughly formed and weighed, and their bearings examined; so that he dared to trust them, and defend them. While he had no attachment to old systems, as such, he had no fondness for change, or for trying rash experiments. As the moving power which impelled him to action was in himself, he did not wait to be urged on by public opinion. He did not ask whether his measures would meet with public favor, but whether they would promote the public good. If they would, he had a right to propose them first. If public opinion was not right, he would endeavor to correct it. It must originate with some individual, and it might as well originate with him as with another. He was, perhaps, generally in advance of the public in his opinions. His ever active and benevolent mind was much employed in reflecting, and forming opinions, on various subjects not immediately connected with his business, which enabled him to write or give counsel with little apparent premeditation, and as it was sometimes thought, with too much haste and positiveness. The fact was, that the subjects were not new to him, but had received his deliberate examination. His thoughts and conversation were almost always on public objects; and he often suggested plans for benevolent action, to which they who heard him wished he might devote his life.

"Mr. Evarts possessed a large share of *true courage;* both that which elevates the mind to great undertakings, and that which preserves it undaunted amidst great opposition and danger. Nothing within the reach of human power—nothing certainly which had been made a duty, seemed to him too difficult, relying on divine aid, to be attempted. Nor did he excuse himself from arduous labors, on the plea that they belonged to more able men, and thus leave them undone. He would make the endeavor himself. Yet he was always willing to avail himself of the counsel and co-operation of others, and readily acknowledged his obligations to them. He did not waste time in inquiries whether he should succeed or not. He would do what he could, and clear himself, so as not afterwards to be pained with the conviction, that the cause had failed through his dilatoriness or inefficiency. To that timidity which is always predicting defeat, that pusillanimity which does nothing because it has so much to do, and that despondency which is ever occupied in contemplating its own deficiencies, he was a stranger. While in the path of duty, he feared no evil. He knew that truth and righteousness would ultimately prevail, however they might now be disregarded and trampled on; and as for himself, if he was misrepresented, or reproached, or ridiculed, looking forward to the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, he committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously.

" His *promptness and energy* were no less conspicuous. A discriminating mind, aided by long established habits of careful investigation, enabled him to examine questions, and form conclusions on which he could confidently rely, with surprising rapidity. He ever felt that he was acting on his own responsibility. When he had decided on his course, a strength of feeling, a determination of purpose, a concentration of all his powers in action, and a directness of aim in every movement, made opposition yield, and bore him on to the accomplishment of his designs. Yet he was mild and courteous to all, and as far as possible removed from obstinacy.

" Few men could *co-operate so cordially and harmoniously with their associates.* The Prudential Committee and his other fellow-laborers in the missionary work, do not recollect to have ever received from him one angry or complaining word. He was always frank, affectionate, and tender of their feelings; never petulant, jealous, or overbearing. He would indeed maintain his views with great earnestness, as if he attached an importance to them; but if he was overruled, and some measure was agreed on which he could not advise to, and predicted would fail, he did not sullenly hold back, as if determined to verify his prediction ; but contributed all his endeavors to bring the best result out of the course adopted.

" *Integrity and a love of justice* were obvious traits in the character of Mr. Evarts. He often spoke with admiration of the holy character of God. So he did, also, of the character of those men, who, in times of trial, have displayed eminent honesty and steadfastness of principle. He regarded with peculiar abhorrence, all dishonesty, injustice, oppression, tergiversation, and intrigue ; and no man was more free from them in his conduct ; and no man, probably, who has stood in so delicate and responsible relations to the community, has been less suspected, or more implicitly confided in. He ever felt himself accountable to the community for the funds and influence intrusted to him ; and it was a principle adopted by himself, and inculcated on his associates, that such a course should be pursued, and all accounts and documents kept in such a state, that, if the public should demand an exhibition of them any day, it might be made. Such a demand he knew the public had a right to make of any one transacting public business. He often spoke with gratitude of his having been so long permitted to be a servant of the Christian community, and so long enjoyed its confidence.

As Corresponding Secretary, he was often placed in very delicate circumstances, being obliged to speak and act in such a manner as to affect the feelings and interests of many persons ; declining the offers of some, dismissing others from the service, pointing out the faults of others, and directing the labors of others. All this was done very frankly and plainly, his language always corresponding with his meaning ; yet he seldom gave offence. He intended to pursue a course which was so obviously right that no reasonable person could find fault. It would probably be difficult to point out an instance where he acted towards any person from prejudice or passion. If he erred, it was in forming too favorable opinions, and being too lenient.

" In his investigations and arguments he showed the same love for simple truth. A victory won by sophistry or unfairness had no charms for him.

"Mr. Evarts felt a solemn *responsibility for using all his faculties and time* so as to accomplish the most good. Conscience and a sense of duty exercised a control over him, as unyielding and supreme as that of gravitation over the natural world. Neither interest, nor ease, nor the pleasures of social intercourse could draw him from his appropriate labors. Nor did he bear the toil and confinement of duty with reluctance or complaining. Labor was pleasure. Feeling bound as a public servant to labor to the extent of his ability, and return in valuable service a full equivalent for all that he received, he was constantly endeavoring to improve his faculties and habits, and extend his acquisitions, that he might become more competent to his work. He was not less assiduous in cultivating his religious character by devotional reading, watchfulness, and self-denying action; and his prayers for wisdom and grace were constant and importunate.

"To a man who is obliged to examine many subjects, and to transact many kinds of business requiring thoroughness and accuracy, scarcely anything is more important than that intellectual training, by which *control is obtained over all the faculties.* This Mr. Evarts possessed. He could at all seasons of the year, in all states of health, and however beset by cares and troubles, bring his mind into vigorous action, and direct it as he pleased. He could, also, at any call, leave a subject on which his thoughts and feelings were intensely fixed, and without loss of time fix them as intensely on another; and when permitted, he could resume the former where he left it, and immediately proceed, as if no interruption had been experienced. In this manner, the habit of close and accurate thought and vigor of mind were preserved amidst the distracting cares of a miscellaneous business.

"He possessed a similar control over his feelings. His emotions were strong, often like a broad and deep tide, but he rarely wrote or spoke in public under the influence of wrong or excessive feeling; and whenever important interests were at stake, he was always sufficiently guarded. He did not waste his strength in solicitude respecting the future. In a letter to his family, written during his last sickness, he remarks: 'It is a habit with me not to cherish anxiety which I know will be useless, which must, therefore, be hurtful, and which is so plainly forbidden in the Scriptures. How much better is it, than to be thus anxious, to commit ourselves and each other, and all who are dear to us, to the keeping of our heavenly Father, without whom not a sparrow falleth to the ground.' This habit, built on his self-control and humble reliance on God, he was enabled to extend to everything in which he was concerned. Whatever might be his business, he would take portions of every day for relieving his mind entirely from its burden, in which he appeared to succeed perfectly. He often remarked that no subject of thought or care ever prevented his falling into quiet sleep, when the season for it arrived.

" He was aided in his labors by *a memory minutely retentive, and accurate* to a remarkable degree. The whole of his past life, with all its events, with all the acknowledge he had acquired, seemed to have left palpable traces on his memory, to remain spread out before him, and to be made the objects of distinct retrospection, as on a map. On his third visit to the south-western Indians, while making a water passage, either for use or amusement, he wrote out a diary of each of his two previous tours from memory, noting where he was and what he did each day, from the time he left Boston till his return, one of seven and the other of four months, and one performed two and the other six years previously; and, as he said, without stopping a minute to recollect himself. His habit of associating contemporaneous events, and his distinct remembrance, rendering the past to him almost the same as the present, extended to things which persons generally least regard. While writing 'William Penn,' he wished to quote a passage from Hooker, all the words of which he could not recall, and the book was not at hand. He soon remembered reading the passage in a newspaper, of which he kept a file; and by a little effort he recollected the precise date, though ten years before, and immediately turned to the file and found it. Nothing was more common with him in his family, than to remark that, so many years ago to-day, such a battle or such another event in history occurred; and then to proceed to remark on the circumstances of it, or the characters concerned in it, with as much minuteness and readiness as if the book were before him. This rendered his conversation peculiarly interesting and instructive.

"In his writing, though no man more scrupulously adhered to truth and accuracy, yet he seldom referred to books. The tablet of his memory was his record—a substitute for books and documents. His missionary correspondence was greatly facilitated by his having the whole history of the Board and of each mission, with the character of each missionary, distinctly before his mind. This power, which he said he never took pains to acquire, was undoubtedly owing, in a great degree, to the perfect distinctness and order with which he viewed objects; and contributed greatly to his despatch in business, and his readiness to give counsel.

"It may be remarked, in passing, that he seemed also to be able to forget what he pleased. When he was told by his physician the winter before his decease, that he could not proceed to Washington as he had designed, to labor for the Indians, and that his only hope of recovery lay in his relinquishing business, and making a voyage to a southern climate, he immediately dismissed the subject, which for the preceding two years had been to him one of so much thought and anxiety; and it is not recollected that he even mentioned it, during the two or three weeks that intervened before his embarkation.

"Another power which Mr. Evarts possessed in a high degree, was that of *collecting and using evidence for forming correct opinions.* It made little difference how intangible or complicated in its nature, or how various in kind, the evidence might be; he would with great rapidity so weigh it as to arrive at conclusions in which he was seldom disappointed. In connection with this, he possessed a remarkable forecast or calculation as to the future. As an instance of this, may be mentioned an estimate which he formed and published, while the census of the United States was taking in 1820, of what the population of each State would be. It proved almost accurate enough for the marshal's report.

"Mr. Evarts's *habits of business* were well adapted to public life. A punctuality never occasioning disappointment or delay, and an unfailing accuracy characterized, all his transactions and writings. His books exhibit most clearly how all the sums of money, public or private, that ever passed through his hands, were obtained and disposed of. He aimed to transact all business with despatch, and in the best manner; and to render every document, in its form, style, spirit, and even penmanship, as perfect as possible. He perceived almost instinctively how his work could be prosecuted most advantageously, and he never lost time in matters that would not promote his end, or in ascertaining what to do next.

"In all his plans and labors, Mr. Evarts *habitually acknowledged his dependence on God*, carefully noticed his providence, and sought direction and aid by prayer. He spent one evening each week with his associates in the missionary work, in conversation and prayer relative to their duties and the concerns intrusted to them. The feeling of responsibility and dependence expressed on these occasions, the acknowledgments of unfaithfulness and ill-desert, the thankfulness for past success, and the earnest supplications for wisdom and grace, expressed on these occasions, will long be remembered. When at Washington, on the morning that the vote was to be taken on the Indian bill, he remarked to a Christian friend with whom he was entering the capitol, that God only could direct to a right decision of that momentous question, and requested the friend to retire with him to a vacant room for prayer. After the vote was taken, he remarked to the same friend that nothing but a special divine interposition could save the Indians from ruin; and again, at his suggestion, they retired to the same room for prayer. However great his anxiety on any subject, spreading it before God in prayer seemed to give him relief.

"There was in Mr. Evarts an assemblage of qualities and an attention to every duty, constituting a *completeness of character* seldom found. He could originate or comprehend the largest plans, and yet attend to the minutest details; he was equally familiar with principles and facts; he could devise or execute, feel or reason; he could transact the retired business of an office, or manage his cause in writing or debate before the public; he could meet worldly men or religious men; could perform every duty to the public and every duty to his family; could be firm and energetic in his purposes, and yet co-operate harmoniously with his associates; he could be intensely and almost constantly occupied with business, and yet be habitually spiritually-minded.

Probably few men have sustained through life a more amiable or irreproachable character, or possessed the really useful talents in a greater variety or measure, or have used them with more benevolence, wisdom, and industry, for promoting the highest well-being of his fellow-men. Few have been so ready and adequate to every service to which they were called.

"In his family, Mr. Evarts was uncommonly affectionate and accessible, and manifested the deepest interest in their welfare. He conversed familiarly with all the members of it on interesting topics, and in the most animated and instructive manner, with great beauty and strength of language, and often with much pleasantry, but never with levity. For giving life to conversation, and as an interesting companion at home or abroad, no one, in the estimation of the family, could fill his place. He treated them with marked courtesy and respect, and was in return greatly beloved and respected by them.

"To his particular friends, especially those of his early life, he was most devotedly attached; and his affectionate partiality for them was, perhaps, in some instances, excessive. He was fond of society, and took great pleasure in conversation, and would render himself interesting to all classes of persons. In every circle with which he mingled, he contributed his full share to the instruction and entertainment, without exhibiting in the least degree the mental absence of the business man, or the stiffness of the scholar."

In person, Mr. Evarts was of the medium height, of a slight frame and spare habit, with a countenance, though not at first, more than his person, particularly striking, yet indicating great intelligence and activity, and all those moral traits that invite confidence and command respect. His manners were those of a man conscious alike of what was due to himself and to others,—self-possessed, respectful, kind; his conversation not brilliant, but easy, animated, and to a very remarkable degree instructive; his attachments, as has been remarked, strong and permanent, and his disposition social. His hospitality was cordial, and felt by visiters to be a perfect welcome to what his modest and frugal fireside might afford; and particularly was he fond of seeing much at his own house, persons engaged in the public service of Christ, or in any way connected with the missions. Whether Greek or Jew, Indian, Hawaiian, or Negro, the stranger was sought by him as a guest, and so treated as to feel himself a stranger no more.

In his views of religious truth, he probably agreed more nearly with his early instructor, the late President Dwight, than any other writer. He was fond of the works of Calvin, Edwards, and others of the like spirit. His attachment to the doctrines and polity of the orthodox Congregationalists was intelligent and strong, but without bigotry. It may be doubted whether his veneration for the character of Wilberforce and his Christian regard for the excellent fellow-laborers of that great and good man, were at all diminished by the fact that they were members of the Church of England; rather, their relations to that church clothed their characters, in his view, with peculiar interest, and gave them special claims to sympathy and respect.

Among books of devotion, Baxter's Saints' Rest was his favorite; but his habit, in this respect, was to read little and meditate much. Especially in the later years of his life, religious meditation, more than reading, was the chosen employment of his devotional hours. Evidence of his habitual prayerfulness frequently appears on the preceding pages. He enjoyed communion with God in private, social, and public prayer; and it was his constant resort in all employments, and in all difficulties and trials; and he studiously made it a means of self-control and discipline. The following characteristic memorandum is without date, but the topics indicate the occasion with sufficient definiteness. The want of specifications under the last head is to be attributed to the fact that it had been a standing topic of daily prayer, at home and abroad alike, for so many years.

PLAN OF PRAYER.

I. *For Myself.*

1. That I may journey purely in a religious manner.

2. That I may aim at preserving a devout temper.

3. That I may be preserved from rash and imprudent speeches in regard to the government, the opposers of missions, or any other subject.

4. That I may cultivate a temper universally mild and amiable towards all men ; and whenever I hear of sinful actions, before I say a word by way of censure, remember how much I find to blame in myself, though under so great advantages.

5. That the journey may conduce especially to these three objects,—my health, the deliverance of the Indians, and the promotion of the missionary cause.

II. *For My Family.*

1. For each member, according to circumstances.

2. That, if we should never meet in this world, my failures in duty may not prevent their meeting, all the friends of God, in heaven.

3. That they may each and all seek the favor of God.

III. *For the Indians.*

1. That God would especially protect the pious ones, and preserve them.

2. That inquirers may not be diverted.

3. That those who are tempted to drinking and other sins, may be withheld and restrained.

4. That in none of the tribes the poor may be betrayed by their chiefs or abandoned whites.

5. That the friends of the Indians, in Congress and out, may be cautious, prudent, &c., but especially not lacking in zeal.

6. That our government may be withheld, &c.

7. That the minds of the rulers of Georgia may be so directed as not to proceed to extremities.

8. That some peace-maker may arise, who shall obtain a hearing for both sides.

9. That the rights of the Indians may be vindicated, and the honor of the country preserved.

IV. *Prayer for our Board, and for Missions generally.*

APPENDIX.

LABORS OF MR. EVARTS IN RELATION TO THE INDIAN QUESTION.

The following sketch of the writings of Mr. Evarts upon the Indian Question is based upon memoranda of his own; and the particular facts stated relating to some items in the list, are all given on that authority. The list, of course, embraces only papers designed for publication, or of an official character; and nothing of his voluminous correspondence and journal at Washington.

1. Essays of " WILLIAM PENN," first published in the National Intelligencer in twenty-four numbers, appearing from August to December, 1829. As they appeared, they were copied into more than a hundred newspapers, as is believed, and many of them papers which had a very extensive circulation.
2. A Pamphlet Edition of these Essays, carefully revised and corrected, with an appendix.
3. An examination of some things in regard to the Indian Question as affecting the Choctaw nation, published in the Missionary Herald for December, 1829.
4. A Brief Statement of the present relations between the Government and People of the United States and the Indians, signed by George Newbold, Hugh Maxwell, Charles King, and others, and published in New York, Nov. 1829.
5. Two long articles in the New York Observer, in answer to the Charleston Observer. In these articles the decisions of the Supreme Court are examined.
6. The Memorial to Congress from Inhabitants of the city of New York in regard to the Indians :—adopted at a public meeting, John Trumbull, chairman. Dec. 1829.
7. Some passages in the pamphlet edition of a Review of the Indian Question, which appeared originally in the American Magazine, January, 1830.
8. The Boston Resolutions and Memorial. The most spirited parts of the Memorial, as originally written, were omitted by the committee to accommodate it to the supposed state of the public mind. February, 1830.

9. Procured the publication in a separate pamphlet, of a Review that appeared in the Spirit of the Pilgrims. February, 1830.

10. A Protest, written at the request of leading members of Congress, intended to be signed by members of both Houses who voted against the Indian Bill. The subject had been considered privately before the arrival of Mr. Evarts at Washington, and the labor of preparing the document had been assigned to Mr. Taylor, of New York. He wished Mr. E. to relieve him from it, as he was much occupied by his duties in the House. About the time of the passage of the Bill, however, it was concluded not to sign such a paper; as it would be too much to expect of the administration members voting against the Bill, to unite in such a measure; and should it appear signed only by members of the opposition, it would be denominated a party measure, and do more harm than good,—as it was exceedingly important to keep the question as free as possible from the influences of party. The plan, therefore, though it had been warmly cherished by many for several weeks, was finally abandoned by general consent, and the paper was never used. May, 1830.

11. It was next suggested from the same quarter, that Mr. Evarts should write an Address to be signed by the Cherokee Delegation, and published on the eve of their departure from Washington. This was agreed upon; but when mentioned to Mr. Wirt, he suggested that it would come with more weight, if the Cherokee Council, from the heart of their own nation, were to issue the Address. The document was prepared accordingly, and is the Address of the Cherokee Council to the People of the United States, published in the Cherokee Phœnix, July 24, 1830. The two concluding paragraphs were added in the Cherokee nation. May, 1830.

12. Speeches on the Indian Bill, a volume published in September, 1830. Mr. Evarts prepared the Prospectus—urged their publication—wrote to members of Congress respecting them—corrected them all for the press—and wrote the Preface, containing an abstract of the arguments in favor of the Bill. "I believe," says Mr. Evarts, "there has never been so correct a volume of speeches published in this country, nor one creditable to so many speakers. July and August, 1830.

13. An account of the effect of the Choctaw Treaty, published in the Missionary Herald for August, 1830. July, 1830.

14. An Article on the Removal of the Indians, published in the North American Review for October, 1830. Written in August, by particular request of the Editor, Alexander H. Everett, Esq.

15. A History of the Indian Bill, seven numbers, published in the New York Observer. Summer and Autumn of 1830.

16. Two numbers on "the Present State of the Indian Question," signed "William Penn," and published in the National Intelligencer in the Autumn of 1830.

17. Two Memorials to Congress, written officially, on behalf of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, one in January, 1830, and the other in January, 1831.

Numbers 10 and 11 in the foregoing list will be found on the following pages.

I.

DRAFT OF A PROTEST AGAINST THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICY OF THE INDIAN BILL OF MAY, 1830.

The Act entitled, an Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the States or Territories, and for their removal west of the Mississippi, which has recently passed both Houses of Congress, and been sent to the President of the United States for his approbation, being of a novel and peculiar character, and involving principles of the deepest interest to the reputation of this Republic, seems to the undersigned to require of them something more than the record of their names in the negative, on the passage of the bill through the two branches of the National Legislature. Unless the undersigned are entirely mistaken as to the nature, design, and tendency of this Act, and the interpretation which it will receive from the Executive, it is a measure fraught with extreme danger and responsibility, and destined to bring upon our country the guilt and shame of oppressing the weak, robbing the poor, and violating the most solemn engagements which it is in the power of this government to make;—engagements unequivocal in their meaning, many times repeated, and always, till recently, understood in the same sense, and in accordance with the obvious import of the language, by both the parties, and by all the communities now feeling a peculiar interest in the subject. If this is a fair statement of the case, the condition to which our country has arrived is indeed an awful one; and it well becomes every patriot, and every friend of free institutions, to survey the gulf into which we have fallen from a most commanding elevation.

That the undersigned may prepare the way for disclaiming all agency in producing the present state of things, and all participation in the responsibility attached to it, a more detailed exposition, though still a brief one, will be advisable.

The Act in question places in the hands of the Executive half a million of dollars to commence the work of removing the Indians, according to a plan very imperfectly sketched in the act itself, but no where else described by the laws of the land, and never before sanctioned by the co-ordinate branches of the government. The Act is not a substantive measure, resting upon its own merits, and springing from a simple regard to the benefit of the Indians; but it is a *co-operating measure*, obviously intended to aid the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, in expelling the Indians from their patrimonial inheritance; and in doing this, as the undersigned conceive, in violation of the public faith, and under circumstances of aggravated injustice.

The words of the Act contemplate the voluntary removal of the Indians; but if their consent to a removal be obtained by bribery, threats, or the oppressive legislation of the States, it will not be voluntary, in any proper and honorable sense. From public documents laid before Congress during the present session, it appears that measures have been recommended by the Secretary of War, which, however disguised in language, cannot be considered as any thing less than bribery. The Indians have been repeatedly told, during the past year, by the President, the Secretary of War, and other public functionaries, that they cannot be protected by the general government against the laws of the several States; and the Indians have been informed from these high sources, that they cannot live under state laws, and that the operation of these laws would ensure their destruction. It appears to the undersigned, that the Act recently passed will be justly regarded as sanctioning the declarations of the President and the Secretary of War, on these subjects; and that it will furnish the means of bribery, and the occasion of threats, and an invitation to systematic and legalized oppression on the part of the States, in such a manner as to make the legislative and executive departments of our government justly responsible to mankind for these odious and disgraceful measures.

The undersigned are aware that the legislation of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi is said not to be oppressive; but it is not denied that the Indians regard it as oppressive, and this is sufficient to ensure its condemnation as an expedient to drive away the Indians. Besides, no dispassionate statesman in the world, if acquainted with the actual condition of the Indians, can deny that these laws are oppressive in a very high degree; and it has been acknowledged, on the floor of the Senate, by one of the Senators from Georgia, that it is the wish and aim of that State to effect a removal of the Indians.

Again, if the existing laws were not oppressive, other laws, which will be oppressive, can easily be made; for it is to be remembered, that a joint resolution was adopted by the legislature of Georgia, in December, 1827, which was approved by the Governor, and transmitted to the President of the United States, in which it is declared that the Cherokee Indians are only tenants at will; that Georgia has a right to dispossess them at any moment; that if other measures will not answer, she may properly resort to force; and that she wants their lands, and will have them.

In order to come to a full understanding of the case, it is necessary to look, for a few moments, at the claims or the Indians, and the relations subsisting between them and the United States.

The four southwestern tribes of Indians within our national limits, now reside upon lands which came to them through the immemorial occupancy of their ancestors. These lands have never been in the possession of the whites; nor has the title of the original possessors ever been abandoned, or in any way transferred. The mere statement of these facts is sufficient to show that the law of nations and the fundamental principles of morality forbid that these original possessors of the soil should be deprived of their possessions without their own consent. But this is not all the case. From the first settlement of the continent by Anglo-Americans, boundaries were established between the territory sold, or surrendered to the whites, and the territory still retained by the natives.

In the establishment of these boundaries, the natives always had a voice; and the mere fixing a boundary is an admission of title in the original possessors.

In the year 1785, the confederated States made a treaty with the Cherokees, one of the tribes abovementioned, by which their national character was admitted, peace was established, and various reciprocal engagements were entered into; the Cherokees expressly putting themselves under the protection of the United States, and implicitly reserving to themselves all their rights not expressly surrendered. A definite national boundary was fixed, leaving the Indians under their own government.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted, this treaty became the supreme law of the land.

In 1791, a treaty was made between the United States and the Cherokees, in which the same great principles are involved as in the treaty of 1785, and by which an express and solemn guaranty was given to the Cherokee nation of all its lands not ceded to the United States. Thirteen treaties were subsequently made between the same parties, at different periods down to the year 1819, in all which the national existence, and the right of remaining permanently under their own government upon the land of their fathers, are implicitly, and in many forms, admitted. The guaranty is always implied, and was expressly repeated, in the year 1798, and declared to be *for ever*.

By these various treaties, the Cherokees placed themselves under the protection of the United States, submitted the regulation of their trade to the United States, granted the free navigation of their rivers and the opening of certain specified roads through their territory, ceded large tracts of valuable land, and engaged not to form compacts with foreign powers, with any separate State of this Union, or with individuals. They received from the United States, in consideration of these grants and cessions, a perpetual guaranty of their lands not ceded, covenants of perpetual peace and good neighborhood, various pecuniary annuities, and stipulations that the United States would aid them in the work of civilization, which they had commenced.

Thus the matter stands on the basis of treaties. The laws of the United States were conformed to these stipulations in all respects. White intruders into the Cherokee territory were subjected to heavy penalties; and this territory was described, in the intercourse laws, as not being within the jurisdiction of the United States, or within the jurisdiction of any territorial district of the United States, and of course not within the jurisdiction of any state. Intruders have repeatedly been expelled from the Cherokee territory, in pursuance of treaties and the intercourse law, by the armed force of the United States. It may safely be asserted that the people of Georgia have always supposed, until within less than four years past, that the only way of acquiring Cherokee lands was by means of solemn treaties between the United States and the Cherokee nation.

It should here be observed, that the treaties with the Indians have uniformly been ratified with the same solemnity, as treaties between the United States and the powers of Europe; and, at the commencement of President Washington's administration, the great principles which were to be pursued in negotiating with the Indians, received the deliberate sanction of the Senate, before they were embodied in the treaties. Among these principles were an inviolable guaranty, and the free consent of the Indians to terms fairly proposed and fully understood.

In this manner are the United States bound to the Indians; and, by the constitution of our national government, whenever the United States are bound as a whole, each State belonging to the Union is bound as a part. It is not denied by the majority who passed this Act, that, according to the plain meaning of the treaties above described and the intercourse law, the Cherokees are to be protected by the whole power of the United States against the laws of Georgia; and all this is plain, even if Georgia had never consented to these treaties and this law, but had uniformly protested against them.

The undersigned are of opinion, however, that Georgia has, in numerous instances, approved of the whole system of treating with the Indians, and has bound herself to that system as strongly as it is possible for a community to bind itself by its most solemn acts.

From the first settlement of Georgia till the peace of 1783, numerous treaties were made between the colonists and the natives, in all which boundaries were agreed upon; and no treaty has been produced which asserts, or even intimates, the right of the whites to dispossess the Indians beyond the boundary. The very reverse is always implied, and often asserted. After the peace of 1783, and before the adoption of the federal constitution, Georgia, as a sovereign and independent State, made treaties with the Indians, in all of which the same great principles were involved. By the adoption of the federal constitution, the treaty of Hopewell became the supreme law of the land; and all subsequent treaties made by the general government with Indians, have become the supreme law of the land from the dates of their ratification, respectively. When Georgia came into the Union, she of course admitted the treaty of Hopewell to be the supreme law of the land; and she engaged, also, to regard all future treaties as invested with the same high character.

In the compact of 1802, between the United States and Georgia, it is clearly implied that, whenever the Indian title should be extinguished, it would be extinguished by means of a fair and honorable treaty; and, in that compact, mention is made of treaties, in such a manner as to show it to be the understanding of the parties, that the general government alone could acquire from the Indians the title to their lands. The very compact of 1802, on which Georgia so much insists, and which, by a solemn legislative act, she declared to be binding upon all her citizens forever; that compact debars her from claiming the extinguishment of Indian title in any other way than as a consequence of treaties to be negotiated with the Indian nations by the United States. From 1802 to 1826, Georgia frequently and importunately urged the general government to purchase, by means of treaties, for her use and benefit, lands belonging to the Creek and Cherokee nations; and the undersigned have never heard an intimation that the people of Georgia, within that period, ever suggested the possibility of acquiring these lands in any other way. Considerable tracts belonging to the Cherokees, and all the lands belonging to the Creeks and lying within the chartered limits of Georgia, were thus acquired; amounting, in the whole, to 15,000,000 of acres. When these lands were obtained by Georgia, they were from time to time described in her laws, as having been acquired by the United States for her use by means of treaties with these Indian nations. So late as the year 1825, the governor of Georgia, in a proclamation issued by him, declared one of these treaties with the Creek nation to be the supreme law of the land.

From the date of the organization of the general government to the present time, fourteen treaties have been made with the Cherokee nation, (——) with the Creek nation, and more than a hundred with other Indian nations; and it has not been stated, so far as the undersigned have heard, that a single Senator of Georgia has refused his advice and consent to any one of them, as they severally were ratified by the Senate of the United States.

The undersigned are aware that it is *now* said, that compacts with Indian nations are not treaties; but no authority for such a declaration has been shown. These compacts have all the attributes of treaties, as the word *treaty* has been understood ever since it was introduced into the English language. That word was in frequent use, as applicable to compacts with Indians, from the first settlement of this country. It was thus used, in numberless instances, by the revolutionary Congress, and by the very men who formed the federal constitution. It was thus used by the same men, as contemporary expounders and administrators of the constitution which they had formed. What possible reason is there, then, for asserting that compacts with Indians are not treaties?

Besides, that body which has the exclusive power of making treaties, must, from the nature of the case, have the exclusive power of deciding what a treaty is; and having decided that certain compacts *are* treaties, and ratified and authenticated them as such, there is no power known to the constitution, which can declare that they are *not* treaties. They are the supreme law of the land, and both rulers and people are bound by them, until they are altered or annulled by the parties.

The treaties with the Cherokees were negotiated under the direction of the first five Presidents of the United States, and some of them by the direct agency of the distinguished individuals who now hold the two highest offices under the federal constitution. They were ratified by every Senate for a period of thirty years; and similar treaties have been ratified down to the present session inclusive. Appropriations to carry them into effect have been made by every House of Representatives. These treaties are plain in their language, and incapable of being perverted by ingenuity, or obscured by sophistry. They abound in professions of kindness, good faith, and justice. By these treaties the United States, at a very critical period of their history, were saved from the expense and embarrassment of a protracted Indian war. The new settlements were delivered from Indian invasion, and the indescribable terrors and alarms which the dread of such invasion never fails to excite. By these treaties the United States acquired of the Cherokees large and valuable tracts of land, which now contain a white population of hundreds of thousands; while the Cherokees have retained for their own use but a moderate portion of their original territory, and that by far the least valuable. In the discussion which preceded the passage of this act, a Senator from Georgia declared in his place, that the acquisition of the Cherokee lands now demanded by that State is a very inconsiderable thing; and, compared with previous cessions of land by the Cherokee nation,—much more compared with the value of an unspotted national character,—the remaining lands of the Cherokees are certainly an object of small consideration.

Again, these treaties are incorporated into the laws which relate to our national intercourse with Indians, in such a manner that they cannot be detached without destroying the whole system. The first intercourse law and the first treaty, under the federal constitution, were made contemporaneously; and the legislative power has invariably acted as the handmaid of the treaty-making power.

The States of Mississippi and Alabama are bound, not only as parts of the Union, equally with all the other States and with the nation at large, to observe all treaties as the supreme law of the land; but these States were admitted into the Union, with the express covenant and solemn engagement, that they would conform to the ordinance of 1787, which forever prohibits them from invading or disturbing the Indians in their property, rights, and liberty, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress, and from taking the lands and property of the Indians without their consent.

The undersigned conceive, therefore, that the rulers and people of the United States are bound to the Indian nations, so long as these nations shall fulfil their part of the existing covenants, not to encroach upon their lands, nor disturb them in the enjoyment of their laws and customs, nor exercise any dominion over them, except what they have expressly admitted the federal government to exercise. No complaint is preferred against them as having violated any of the existing compacts. They live in amity with their white neighbors; and the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw nations have for many years cultivated the most friendly relations with us, and have been in the habit of treating the citizens of the United States who pass through their borders, with civility, kindness, and hospitality.

When it is considered that, (to say nothing of the period anterior to the revolution,) our diplomatic relations with Indians commenced at the very origin of our national existence; that they were formed into a well-digested system at the organization of our present form of government, and solemnly and deliberately sanctioned by the venerated founders of the republic; that they have been confirmed by every Senate and every House of Representatives of the United States; that they were explained by President Washington, in his official letters to the Indians, as meaning precisely those things which the Cherokees and the other south-western tribes now understand them to mean; that they are not capable of any other meaning; that a guaranty of lands not ceded, if not formal, at least in effect and substance, was always a *sine qua non* of treaties on the part of the Indians; that President Jefferson, during the whole course of his public life, asserted the very principles of Indian title which are now pleaded by the Indians; that the treaties were made at our solicitation, and for our benefit; that the United States obtained lands which brought millions into the public treasury, and are now a large part of the inhabited territory of flourishing States; that the Cherokee country now claimed by Georgia is of inconsiderable value; that there is no plea of necessity in the case, and if there were, it is a plea which should always be suspected when assigned as a reason for violating positive compacts; that the State of Georgia is bound in many ways, both as a member of the Union and as a separate State, if it is possible for a community to be bound by its own acts; that this series of obligations extends through nearly half a century; that the Cherokees, especially, have been urged to engage in the work of civilization by the argument that they were to remain permanently on the land of their fathers; that this argument was not only pressed upon them constantly by agents of the government, but was repeatedly embodied in treaties; and that the Indian nations committed themselves and their all to the guardianship of our good faith:—When all these things are considered, the undersigned feel compelled to say, that any course of measures, which, however plausibly described, is in effect a violation of these public engagements, thus solemnly and deliberately formed and ratified, exhibits a frightful compound of ingratitude, injustice, and perfidy. Nothing like it ever before stained the annals of this country. In some respects, there is an aggravation attached to this deplorable abandonment of plighted faith, which cannot find a parallel in history. These declarations are made with the deepest sorrow, and with indescribable mortification and distress. If the facts in the case could be concealed, there would be a powerful reason for silence. But they cannot. Every volume of our statutes proclaims Indian rights, and will remain a perpetual testimony to our disgrace. In various ways, our government has invited the attention of the civilized world to the principles of justice and humanity which it has solemnly professed, and to which it stands pledged.

Though the greatest objection to the Act in question is, in the opinion of the undersigned, its being a violation of the public faith; yet there are other objections of a very grave character.

It would seem a sufficient reason for voting in the negative on the passage of this Act, that the scheme which it is designed to support is crude and undigested, and has never yet been subjected to an experiment on a large scale. There is nothing in history that resembles it. So far as any thing like an experiment has been tried, the result has been by no means favorable to the success of the present plan. The Seminoles and a part of the Delawares migrated, at the instance of the general government. Official documents published by the government show that these emigrants were plunged into the deepest distress; that many of them died of famine; and their condition is now miserable in the extreme.

Again; the removal of 75,000 souls, (the number at which the south-western tribes are estimated by the Secretary of War,) must be attended with extreme suffering. No human care or caution can prevent this suffering. Were it inflicted directly by Divine Providence, we should sympathize with the sufferers, as in other cases of unavoidable calamity. But the suffering in this case will be brought upon unoffending tribes by human agency,—by the agency of this great republic, acting through its government upon the sufferers. Let it be considered that Indians are men; that they have not only the rights and privileges of men, but the same susceptibility of hunger, sickness, pain, and grief, as other men; and that, on some accounts, the measure now proposed will be attended with more permanent evils to them than a similar course of measures would bring upon an equal number of white inhabitants, residing in one of the cities or counties of the United States.

The expense of this undertaking will, as there is reason to believe, be enormous. The chairman of the Indian committee of the House estimated them at $5,000,000. Several members, who have given much attention to the subject, suppose they will amount to four or five times that sum. For the support of the public faith, such an expenditure would meet the approbation of an intelligent and moral community; but it should not be incurred, unless for the most substantial reasons.

It is contended by the advocates of removal, that the country now in the possession of the Indians is needed for the accommodation of the whites, while the country to which they are to be removed is much better for the accommodation of the Indians, than the territory which they now possess. But it seems to the undersigned, that this plea of necessity is not sustained by facts, if it were valid in its nature. The United States now possess one hundred million acres of unsettled land purchased of Indians; and the present rate of sales is but one million a year. Besides, if the lands to which the Indians remove are valuable and inviting, they will be sought by whites; and pretexts will not be wanting for obtaining them. Indeed, the principles on which the present course of measures has been decided, would authorize the banishment of Indians from the national limits of the United States, and even from this continent.

It will be impossible, if the Indians are compelled to remove, ever to regain their confidence. They will regard themselves as pensioners on the bounty of the United States, and not as possessing any rights either of property, person, or government. The natural tendency of such a state of things is, to produce in any men, most of all in Indians, despondency, recklessness of mind, and utter despair of the future. The natural consequence seems to be, that all the improvements now making in their condition will receive a disastrous check, if they do not utterly cease.

In conclusion, the undersigned solemnly declare that they have endeavored to form their opinions upon this subject, with a sole reference to the great principles of national morality and public duty; and that they have not, in any respect, wished it to become a party measure. On the contrary, they have deprecated the probability that their opposition to the measure would be ascribed to the influence of party. This is a matter of far too serious a character to be confounded with the ordinary political questions of the day. It relates to great questions of the law of nations, and to fundamental principles of right and wrong. It implicates the reputation of our country throughout the civilized world; and will bear witness against the rulers and the people who sanction it, so long as the record of these transactions shall be preserved. It is to be regarded, therefore, as a great calamity; much greater than words can adequately express, and probably much greater than can now be fully imagined.

From all participation in bringing this calamity upon the people of the United States, the undersigned do publicly and solemnly exonerate themselves; and, on the part of themselves and their constituents, they feel bound to abjure the principles on which the present course of measures respecting the Indians is founded, and to pronounce this course of measures to be, in their judgment, a most unjustifiable series of acts of oppression toward the weak and defenceless, and a manifest and very aggravated violation of the public faith.

They cannot but earnestly desire that these transactions may be viewed in their true light by the government and people of the United States; that the Chief Magistrate may exercise with extreme caution the vast power which is placed in his hands by the Act in question; that the dangerous and mistaken policy, here briefly described, may be speedily abandoned; that our national character may come forth with pristine brightness, from the eclipse by which it is obscured; and that no reproach may become permanently attached to our national character.

Of this result, however, there can be no hope, unless a change of measures be resorted to, nor unless the people of the United States demand that the faith of the nation shall be preserved inviolate and transmitted to posterity without a stain.

II.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHEROKEE NATION, JULY 1830.

Some months ago a delegation was appointed by the constituted authorities of the Cherokee nation, to repair to the city of Washington, and, in behalf of this nation, to lay before the government of the United States such representations, as should seem most likely to secure to us, as a people, that protection, aid, and good neighborhood, which had been so often promised to us, and of which we stand in great need. Soon after their arrival in the city, they presented to Congress a petition from our National Council, asking for the interposition of that body in our behalf, especially with reference to the laws of Georgia, which were suspended in a most terrifying manner over a large part of our population, and protesting, in the most decided terms, against the operation of these laws. In the course of the winter, they presented petitions to Congress, signed by more than four thousand of our citizens, including, probably, more than nineteen-twentieths, and for aught we can tell, ninety-nine hundredths, of the adult males of the nation, (our whole population being about sixteen thousand,) pleading with the assembled representatives of the American people, that the solemn engagements between their fathers and our fathers may be preserved, as they have been till recently, in full force and continued operation: asking, in a word, for protection against threatened usurpation, and for a faithful execution of a guaranty, which is perfectly plain in its meaning, has been repeatedly and rigidly enforced in our favor, and has received the sanction of the government of the United States for nearly forty years.

More than a year ago, we were officially given to understand by the Secretary of War, that the President could not protect us against the laws of Georgia. This information was entirely unexpected; as it went upon the principle, that treaties made between the United States and the Cherokee nation have no power to withstand the legislation of separate States; and, of course, that they have no efficacy whatever, but leave our people to the mercy of the neighboring whites, whose supposed interests would be promoted by our expulsion or extermination. It would be impossible to describe the sorrow which affected our minds, on learning that the Chief Magistrate of the United States had come to this conclusion, that all his illustrious predecessors had held intercourse with us on principles which could not be sustained—promises made hundreds of times, in almost every conceivable manner—often in the form of solemn treaties, sometimes in letters written by the Chief Magistrate with his own hand, very often in letters written by the Secretary of War under his direction, sometimes orally by the President and Secretary to our chiefs, and frequently, and always, both orally and in writing, by the Agent of the United States residing among us, whose most important business it was to see the guaranty of the United States faithfully executed.

Soon after the war of the revolution, as we have learned from our fathers, the Cherokees looked upon the promises of the whites with great distrust and suspicion; but the frank and magnanimous conduct of General Washington did much to allay these feelings. The perseverance of successive Presidents, and especially of Mr. Jefferson, in the same course of policy, and in the constant assurance that our country should remain inviolate, except so far as we voluntarily ceded it, nearly banished anxiety in regard to encroachments from the whites. To this result, the aid which we received from the United States in the attempts of our people to become civilized, and the kind efforts of benevolent societies, have greatly contributed. Of late years, however, much solicitude was occasioned among our people by the claims of Georgia. This solicitude arose from an apprehension, that, by extreme importunity, threats, and other undue influence, a treaty would be made which should cede the territory, and thus compel the inhabitants to remove. But it never occurred to us for a moment, that without any new treaty, without any assent of our rulers and people, without even a pretended compact, and against our vehement and unanimous protestations, we should be delivered over to the discretion of those who had declared by a legislative act, that they wanted the Cherokee lands and would have them.

Finding that relief could not be obtained from the Chief Magistrate, and not doubting that our claim to protection was just, we made our application to Congress. During four long months our delegation waited at the doors of the National Legislature of the United States, and the people at home, in the most painful suspense, to learn in what manner our application would be answered; and, now that Congress has adjourned, on the very day before the date fixed by Georgia for the extension of her oppressive laws over the greater part of our country, the distressing intelligence has been received, that we have received no answer at all; and no department of the government has assured us that we are to receive the desired protection. But just at the close of the session, an act was passed, by which half a million of dollars was appropriated towards effecting a removal of Indians; and we have great reason to fear that the influence of this act will be brought to bear most injuriously upon us. The passage of this act is certainly understood by the representatives of Georgia as abandoning us to the oppressive and cruel measures of the State, and as sanctioning the opinion that treaties with Indians do not restrain State legislation. We are informed by those who are competent to judge, that the recent act does not admit of such construction; but that the passage of it, under the actual circumstances of the controversy, will be considered as sanctioning the pretensions of Georgia, there is too much reason to fear.

Thus have we realized, with heavy hearts, that our supplication has not been heard; that the protection heretofore experienced is now to be withheld; that the guaranty, in consequence of which our fathers laid aside their arms and ceded the best portions of their country, means nothing; and that we must either emigrate to an unknown region and leave the pleasant land to which we have the strongest attachments, or submit to the legislation of a State which has already made our people outlaws, and enacted that any Cherokee, who shall endeavor to prevent the selling of his country, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary of Georgia not less than four years. To our countrymen, this has been melancholy intelligence, and with the most bitter disappointment has it been received,

But in the midst of our sorrows, we do not forget our obligations to our friends and benefactors. It was with sensations of inexpressible joy, that we have learned, that the voice of thousands, in many parts of the United States, has been raised in our behalf, and that numerous memorials have been offered in our favor, in both houses of Congress. To those numerous friends who have thus sympathized with us in our low estate, we tender our grateful acknowledgments. In pleading our cause, they have pleaded the cause of the poor and defenceless throughout the world. Our special thanks are due, however, to those honorable men who so ably and eloquently asserted our rights in both branches of the national legislature. Their efforts will be appreciated, wherever the merits of this question shall be known; and we cannot but think, that they have secured for themselves a permanent reputation among the disinterested advocates of humanity, equal rights, justice, and good faith. We even cherish the hope that these efforts, seconded and followed by others of a similar character, will yet be available so far as to mitigate our sufferings, if not to effect our entire deliverance.

Before we close this address, permit us to state what we conceive to be our relations with the United States. After the peace of 1783, the Cherokees were an independent people—absolutely so, as much as any people on earth. They had been allies to Great Britain, and as faithful allies, took a part in the colonial war on her side. They had placed themselves under her protection; and had they, without cause, declared hostility against their protector, and had the colonies been subdued, what might not have been their fate? But her power on this continent was broken. She acknowledged the independence of the United States and made peace. The Cherokees, therefore, stood alone, and in these circumstances continued the war. They were then under no obligations to the United States, any more than to Great Britain, France, or Spain. The United States never subjugated the Cherokees; on the contrary, our fathers remained in possession of their country, and with arms in their hands.

The people of the United States sought a peace; and, in 1785, the treaty of Hopewell was formed, by which the Cherokees came under the protection of the United States, and submitted to such limitations of sovereignty as are mentioned in that instrument. None of these limitations, however, affected in the slightest degree, their rights of self-government and inviolate territory. The citizens of the United States had no right of passage through the Cherokee country, till the year 1791, and then only in one direction, and by an express treaty stipulation. When the Federal constitution was adopted, the treaty of Hopewell was confirmed, with all other treaties, as the supreme law of the land. In 1791, the treaty of Holston was made, by which the sovereignty of the Cherokees was qualified as follows: The Cherokees acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign. They engaged that they would not hold any treaty with a foreign power, with any separate State of the Union, or with individuals. They agreed that the United States should have the exclusive right of regulating their trade; that the citizens of the United States should have a right of way in one direction through the Cherokee country; and that if an Indian should do injury to a citizen of the United States, he should be delivered up to be tried and punished. A cession of lands was also made to the United States. On the other hand, the United States paid a sum of money; offered protection; engaged to punish citizens of the United States who should do any injury to the Cherokees; abandoned white settlers on Cherokee lands to the discretion of the Cherokees; stipulated that white men should not hunt on these lands, nor even enter the country without a passport; and gave a solemn guaranty of all Cherokee lands not ceded. This treaty is the basis of all subsequent compacts; and in none of them are the relations of the parties at all changed.

The Cherokees have always fulfilled their engagements. They have never re-claimed those portions of sovereignty, which they surrendered by the treaties of Hopewell and Holston. These portions were surrendered for the purpose of obtaining the guaranty which was recommended to them as the great equivalent. Had they refused to comply with their engagements, there is no doubt the United States would have enforced a compliance. Is the duty of fulfilling engagements on the other side less binding than it would be, if the Cherokees had the power of enforcing their just claims?

The people of the United States will have the fairness to reflect, that all the treaties between them and the Cherokees were made at the solicitation, and for the benefit, of the whites; that valuable considerations were given for every stipulation, on the part of the United States; that it is impossible to reinstate the parties in their former situation; that there are now hundreds of thousands of citizens of the United States, residing upon lands ceded by the Cherokees in these very treaties; and that our people have trusted their country to the guaranty of the United States. If this guaranty fails them, in what can they trust? and where can they look for protection?

We are aware that some persons suppose it will be for our advantage to remove beyond the Mississippi. We think otherwise. Our people universally think otherwise. Thinking that it would be fatal to their interests, they have almost to a man sent their memorial to Congress, deprecating the necessity of a removal. This question was distinctly before their minds when they signed their memorial. Not an adult person can be found, who has not an opinion on the subject; and if the people were to understand distinctly, that they could be protected against the laws of the neighboring States, there is probably not an adult person in the nation, who would think it best to remove; though possibly a few might emigrate individually. There are doubtless many who would flee to an unknown country, however beset with dangers, privations and sufferings, rather than be sentenced to spend six years in a Georgia prison for advising one of their neighbors not to betray his country. And there are others who could not think of living as outlaws in their native land, exposed to numberless vexations, and excluded from being parties or witnesses in a court of justice. It is incredible that Georgia should ever have enacted the oppressive laws to which reference is here made, unless she had supposed that something extremely terrific in its character was necessary, in order to make the Cherokees willing to remove. We are not willing to remove; and if we could be brought to this extremity, it would be, not by argument; not because our judgment was satisfied; not because our condition will be improved—but only because we cannot endure to be deprived of our national and individual rights, and subjected to a process of intolerable oppression.

We wish to remain on the land of our fathers. We have a perfect and original right to claim this, without interruption or molestation. The treaties with us, and laws of the United States made in pursuance of treaties, guaranty our residence, and our privileges, and secure us against intruders. Our only request is, that these treaties may be fulfilled, and these laws executed.

But if we are compelled to leave our country, we see nothing but ruin before us. The country west of the Arkansas territory is unknown to us. From what we can learn of it, we have no prepossessions in its favor. All the inviting parts of it, as we believe, are pre-occupied by various Indian nations, to which it has been assigned. They would regard us as intruders, and look upon us with an evil eye. The far greater part of that region is, beyond all controversy, badly supplied with wood and water; and no Indian tribe can live as agriculturists without these articles. All our neighbors, in case of our removal, though crowded into our near vicinity, would speak a language totally different from ours, and practise different customs. The original possessors of that region are now wandering savages, lurking for prey in the neighborhood. They have always been at war, and would be easily tempted to turn their arms against peaceful emigrants. Were the country to which we are urged much better than it is represented to be, and were it free from the objections which we have made to it, still it is not the land of our birth, nor of our affections. It contains neither the scenes of our childhood, nor the graves of our fathers.

The removal of families to a new country, even under the most favorable auspices, and when the spirits are sustained by pleasing visions of the future, is attended with much depression of mind and sinking of heart. This is the case, when the removal is a matter of decided preference, and when the persons concerned are in early youth or vigorous manhood, Judge, then, what must be the circumstances of a removal, when a whole community, embracing persons of all classes and every description, from the infant to the man of extreme old age, the sick, the blind, the lame, the improvident, the reckless, the desperate, as well as the prudent, the considerate, the industrious, are compelled to remove by odious and intolerable vexations and persecutions, brought upon them in the forms of law, when all will agree only in this, that they have been cruelly robbed of their country, in violation of the most solemn compacts which it is possible for communities to form with each other; and that, if they should make themselves comfortable in their residence, they have nothing to expect hereafter but to be the victims of a future legalized robbery!

Such we deem, and are absolutely certain, will be the feelings of the whole Cherokee people, if they are forcibly compelled by the laws of Georgia to remove; and with these feelings, how is it possible that we should pursue our present course of improvement, or avoid sinking into utter despondency? We have been called a poor, ignorant, and degraded people. We certainly are not rich; nor have we ever boasted of our knowledge, or our moral or intellectual elevation. But there is not a man within our limits so ignorant as not to know that he has a right to live on the land of his fathers, in the possession of his immemorial privileges, and that this right has been acknowledged and guarantied by the United States; nor is there a man so degraded as not to feel a keen sense of injury, on being deprived of this right and driven into exile.

It is under a sense of the most pungent feelings that we make this, perhaps our last appeal to the good people of the United States. It cannot be that the community we are addressing, remarkable for its intelligence and religious sensibilities, and preeminent for its devotion to the rights of man, will lay aside this appeal, without considering that we stand in need of its sympathy and commiseration. We know that to the Christian and the philanthropist, the voice of our multiplied sorrows and fiery trials will not appear as an idle tale. In our own land, on our own soil, and in our own dwellings, which we reared for our wives and for our little ones, when there was peace on our mountains and in our valleys, we are encountering troubles which cannot but try our very souls. But shall we, on account of these troubles, forsake our beloved country? Shall we be compelled by a civilized and Christian people, with whom we have lived in perfect peace for the last forty years, and for whom we have willingly bled in war, to bid a final adieu to our homes, our farms, our streams, and our beautiful forests? No. We are still firm. We intend still to cling, with our wonted affection, to the land which gave us birth, and which, every day of our lives, brings to us new and stronger ties of attachment. We appeal to the Judge of all the earth, who will finally award us justice, and to the good sense of the American people, whether we are intruders upon the land of others. Our consciences bear us witness that we are the invaders of no man's rights—we have robbed no man of his territory—we have usurped no man's authority, nor have we deprived any one of his unalienable privileges. How then shall we indirectly confess the right of another people to our land by leaving it forever? On the soil which contains the ashes of our beloved men, we wish to live, on this soil we wish to die.

We entreat those to whom the foregoing paragraphs are addressed, to remember the great law of love, "Do to others as ye would that others should do to you." Let them remember that of all nations on the earth, they are under the greatest obligation to obey this law. We pray them to remember that, for the sake of principle, their forefathers were *compelled* to leave, therefore *driven* from the old world, and that the winds of persecution wafted them over the great waters, and landed them on the shores of the new world, when the Indian was the sole lord and proprietor of these extensive domains. Let them remember in what way they were received by the savage of America, when power was in his hand, and his ferocity could not be restrained by any human arm. We urge them to bear in mind, that those who would now ask of them a cup of cold water, and a spot of earth, a portion of their own patrimonial possessions, on which to live and die in peace, are the descendants of those whose origin, as inhabitants of North America, history and tradition are alike insufficient to reveal. Let them bring to remembrance all these facts, and they *cannot*, and we are sure, they *will* not fail to remember, and sympathize with us in these our trials and sufferings.

N?

J.h

JAN 16 1939

JAN 16 1939